The Outlook

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The Outlook

Published Weekly

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The War in China: Peking and Tientsin

The latest news from China is the cheering announcement that the Peking legations were safe on July 4, and that the Chinese had ceased their attacks. Including the guards, about six hundred persons were connected with the foreign legations, and there were over two hundred other foreigners in the city, in addition to any missionaries who may have sought refuge there. Reports say that Prince Tuan has now placed his son on the throne, but that Prince Ching (formerly head of the Tsung-li Yamên, or Foreign Office) is leading a counter-revolution. The imprisoned foreigners at Peking may possibly have some hope in the jealousies of Princes Tuan and Ching, if the news of their differences is confirmed. Stirred by the murder of Baron von Ketteler, the German Emperor, with characteristic promptness, has not only despatched four ships and many troops to China; he has done a cleverer thing in appealing to Chinese cupidity by offering a reward of a thousand dollars for every foreigner in Peking delivered alive to a German magistrate, an act which naturally meets with heartiest commendation everywhere. Addressing the detachment of German marines which sailed for China last week, the Kaiser said:

> I will not rest until the German flag, joined to those of the other Powers, floats triumphantly over China's flag, and until it has been planted on the walls of Peking to dictate peace to the Chinese. You will have to maintain good comradeship with all the other troops that you will come in contact with over yonder. Russians, British, and French, all alike, are fighting for one common cause—for civilization. We must bear in mind, too, something higher, namely, our religion, and the defense and protection of our brothers out there, some of whom stake their lives for the Savior.

On July 3, at Tientsin, the Chinese heavily bombarded the foreign settlements, the Russians having unsuccessfully bombarded the native town on the preceding day, and on July 6 the Chinese attack was renewed and not abandoned until after seven hours' fighting. A Chinese force, estimated at a hundred thousand men, controls the country about Tientsin. Though thousands of unburied bodies lie on the plains about the city, and though the Peiho is full of them, there is no longer any doubt that the Chinese know how to fight better than they did five years ago, when they were so disastrously defeated by the Japanese. Moreover, the Chinese now have modern weapons. They seem to have shown almost a Boer-like energy in accumulating them, if we may judge from the revelations of the Tientsin arsenal, captured by Admiral Seymour.

❀

The Provinces

Disorder in all the northern provinces is increasing in violence. In Manchuria the Boxers have destroyed all the works of white men, save in some spots garrisoned by the Russians. They have already destroyed, also, the Russian hospital at Mukden, the ancient capital of Manchuria, and have massacred the native Christians there; and they have attacked the Russian railway stations, and have cut the telegraph wires. A Chinese army is approaching the treaty port of Niuchang, and the foreigners there are preparing to leave their homes. In the province of Shantung the Boxers have posted proclamations everywhere calling upon loyal Chinamen to expel the foreigner "for introducing among the pious Chinese an immoral religion." The Boxers have boldly approached to the treaty port of Chifu itself, now crowded with foreigners who have fled thither from all parts of China, not only on account of its supposed safety, but also because of its bracing sea air during the hot summer weather. It now appears that the for-

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eign settlement at Chifu is at the mercy of two Chinese forts equipped with Krupp guns. In the harbor, six warships, including the United States gunboat Nashville, are constantly cleared for action. Turning to the south, we find that a memorial has been submitted by the Viceroys of certain Yangtse provinces, by the terms of which the Viceroys would undertake to protect the missionaries and merchants in these provinces under certain conditions. These conditions were of such a nature as to lead to the supposition that the memorandum could never have received the assent of all the foreign consuls at Shanghai (as its sponsors claimed), even supposing that some of them had been frightened into acquiescence, and hence its consideration was declined by the Cabinet at Washington. Six of these Viceroys, however, have since issued proclamations, couched in vigorous terms, for the protection of foreigners; the Viceroy of Chekiang alone published Prince Tuan's edict against foreigners.

❀

Reinforcements Both the Russians and the Japanese have now landed thousands of men at Taku, and with the ten thousand British India troops afloat the allies should soon have over fifty thousand men in China. Of American reinforcements the Brooklyn, with Admiral Remey on board, has arrived at Chifu, and the troopships from Manila have reached Taku in safety. The Oregon, which was supposed to be going to pieces on pinnacle rocks, has been saved. This news will be welcomed everywhere; the vessel had become only second to the historic Constitution in popular regard. Last week orders were issued by the War Department at Washington for the despatch of 6,200 regular troops to the Philippines with a view to utilizing them in China in case it is found necessary to divert them thither. The force is composed of infantry, cavalry, and a company of engineers. There has been irritating delay on all sides in sending reinforcements; indeed, it is hard to understand why the present situation took the Powers so by surprise. Weeks ago Japan asked permission to do what she could in China for the sake of humanity. She wanted a "mandate" from the Powers; her terms are not known, but her ability is. She has three qualifications not yet possessed by any other Power: (1) She is nearer to the scene of action. (2) She has more soldiers, and (3) she has more ships close at hand. But rather than intrust Japan with a "mandate" the Powers hold back because they do not accurately know what practical deductions Japan will draw therefrom. Russia, the last of the protesting powers, finally gave her consent last week to Japan's "free hand" in China. This gained, a full army division of Japanese troops will be despatched thither immediately.

❀

German Anti-Semitism An interesting sidelight upon one of the causes of the present horrible conditions in China comes from Germany. It seems hardly credible that the falsehoods circulating among the Chinese about the murder of children by missionaries should be closely paralleled in Germany, the home of "illuminism." It appears, nevertheless, that many people there believe that the Jews murder children to use their blood for ritual purposes. A further circumstance shows a depth of depravity to which the "yellowest" American journalism has never sunk. "Influential" German journals are said by the (London) "Christian World" to have encouraged this atrocious delusion, even to the extent of suggesting that the Government connives at such outrages and allows the Jewish murderers to escape. The alleged murder of a school-boy by the Jews is said to have caused a riot at Konitz, in West Prussia, in which the mob wrecked a synagogue, and order was restored only by calling out the military. The hold which the delusion has gained appears from the fact that such eminent scholars in the Old Testament as Professors Kautzsch and Rothstein, of Halle, have been obliged to oppose it with their great authority. By request of the Jewish rabbi, Dr. Fessler, these learned Hebraists came forward and publicly declared that there was not the least ground for the talk about secret Jewish writings, or for the notion that either spoken or written tradition among the Jews prescribes the use of Christian blood for religious rites.

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The astonishment due to such happenings in Germany leaves little astonishment for what happens in benighted China. The Cologne "Gazette" calls for the prosecution of the authors of these foul charges. Else, it says, "how can we make it a matter of reproach for the Chinese that they accuse Christian missionaries of murdering Chinese children for ritual and medicinal objects?"

❀

The Boer War There was little news from South Africa last week, but that little showed a continuance of British success in overcoming Boer opposition, both in the Orange River Colony and in the Transvaal. In the former State the Boers failed ignominiously in an attack on Ficksburg; on the other hand the British have not yet been able to occupy either Vrede or Bethlehem, centers of disaffection in the northeast. In another section eight hundred prisoners were delivered by the Boers to the British; President Kruger calls attention to the fact that eleven hundred prisoners have been captured in the Orange Colony since the news was cabled to England that the Colony was pacified. Mr. Kruger declares that the British hold less than one-third of the Transvaal, "and can never beat us in the mountains." Fortunately for the British, railway communications are now open from Pretoria both through Natal and through Cape Colony to the coast. As might be expected, however, the guarding of these lines, respectively five hundred and a thousand miles in length, takes up nearly half of the effective strength of the British army.

❀

Ashanti The news from the British Gold Coast Colony last week was in pleasant contrast to that which had come since the first of May. Sir Frederick Hodgson, the Governor, with his seven hundred soldiers, has finally been able to escape from Kumassi, the capital of the former kingdom of Ashanti, and, at last accounts, was half way to the coast. Meanwhile, the relief expedition under Colonel Willcocks is making slow but apparently steady progress towards the capital, though there has been much trouble by reason of floods as well as from the enemy. The British are relying upon the friendly attitude of the Bekwais, a neighboring native tribe to the Ashantis, and hostile to them. The difficulties of the present war recall those of the last war in Ashanti five years ago, when General Baden-Powell, the hero of Mafeking, was chief staff officer to Sir Francis Scott, the British commander. The capital was captured, and the Ashantian king made a prisoner. He is now in exile in the British colony of Sierra Leone. He no longer orders a human sacrifice before breakfast every morning, and no longer keeps a harem of three thousand three hundred and thirty-three wives.

❀

The Third and Fourth of July at Paris On Tuesday of last week, July 3, an equestrian statue of Washington was unveiled at the Place d' Jèna, Paris. The statue is the gift to France from the women of America. Mr. Daniel French modeled the figure of Washington, and Mr. E. C. Potter that of the horse; the pedestal was designed by Mr. C. F. McKim. Washington, with uplifted sword, is represented in military costume taking command of the American army at Cambridge, July 3, 1776, and dedicating his sword to his country's service. General Horace Porter, United States Ambassador, presided at the presentation, and the oration on the occasion was delivered by Colonel Charles Chaille Long. The orator is descended from the old Huguenot family of Chaille. One of his ancestors fought in the war of 1776, and later was chosen a delegate to sign and ratify the Constitution of the United States. In accepting the statue on behalf of the French Government, M. Delcassé, Foreign Minister, said that "he whose noble image has been unveiled may be cited as an example for the world, but especially to the citizens of a democracy. I doubt if another could be found in history who could unite in the same degree the qualities demanded for the guidance of a free people." The next day there occurred another ceremony, also uniting France and America in the bonds of close friendship. A statue of Lafayette, the gift of American school children to France, was presented to the nation and was accepted by President Loubet in person. This statue also represents the

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hero dedicating his sword to the cause of American liberty. The location of the monument is within a small garden which lies in the Place du Carrousel, a square surrounded on three sides by the palace of the Louvre. The oration at the presentation was delivered by Archbishop Ireland. As President McKinley said, in a public letter to that prelate:

> No more eminent representative of American eloquence and patriotism could have been chosen, and none who could better give appropriate expression to the sentiments of gratitude and affection which bind our people to France. I will be grateful if you will say how we honor in our national capital the statue of Lafayette erected by the French people, and convey my hope that the presentation of a similar memorial of that knightly soldier whom both republics are proud to claim may serve as a new link of friendship between the two countries, and a new incentive to generous rivalry in striving for the good of mankind.

❀

Newfoundland There is now being waged in Newfoundland, the tenth largest island in the world, one of the most bitter political battles ever fought. The people of the island, under the leadership of Premier Bond, are trying to recover their birthright, which they sold apparently for a mess of pottage. Two years ago, after hard times and an empty treasury had ousted the Liberals from political power, Mr. Robert Reid succeeded in having passed by the Newfoundland Legislature a bill that made over to him, in return for a certain amount of hard cash, the railroads and telegraphs of the entire island. As he already owned three million acres of the richest land in the colony, this made him practically monarch. The bill no sooner became a law than a mighty storm of popular disapproval burst forth, and last winter the Tories were ignominiously routed. Mr. Reid now wants to transfer to a limited liability company, with a capital of $25,000,000, all his franchises, but the Liberal Ministry refuses to authorize the transfer unless certain franchises and privileges be relinquished. Mr. Reid declines to compromise, and has instituted what he calls a "campaign of education" among the masses, reciting the tremendous industrial prosperity that would be consequent upon the transfer, and at the same time abandoning the work of development that has kept laborers profitably employed since he became autocrat. If the November elections go his way, he will henceforth hold Newfoundland in the hollow of his hand, and will be able to pose as one who persuaded a democracy to vote away its independence. The Outlook doubts the desirability of commercial progress at such a cost.

❀

Progress in Cuba Indications continue to multiply that the Cuban people are making steady advance in self-education, and are honestly striving to prepare themselves for the independent government which they confidently expect. Nothing has been more encouraging in this direction than the events attending the inauguration of the new Mayor of Havana. General Maximo Gomez, the idol of all who believe in "Free Cuba," was present, and the new Mayor, Señor Rodriguez, General Gomez, and General Wood mutually expressed the strongest confidence in one another's efforts for good government. In the address made by Mayor Rodriguez, he praised General Wood's administration in the strongest terms, and expressed the gratitude of Cubans for it, while General Wood in reply said that it had always been and still was the intention of the Americans to give independence to Cuba, and that the only people who could prevent independence were the Cubans themselves. Many thousands of people paraded the streets, and a picturesque and somewhat typical event was the fact that for the first time the Spaniards joined in the fête, and Cuban and Spanish bands united in playing the Cuban patriotic hymn as the procession passed General Wood. Another interesting event in Cuban progress is the arrival in Cambridge of the fourteen hundred Cuban teachers who are the guests of Harvard and Cambridge, in order that they may get a personal view of American civilization and American educational methods. About one hundred and twenty Cuban towns and cities are represented The generosity of Harvard students and Cambridge householders, and the liberality of Americans in Cambridge, and indeed all over the country, have made it possible to provide accommodations for this great number of visiting teachers. Courses have been provided in the Summer School particularly adapted for the

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kind of instruction which is desirable for these visitors, and ample opportunities will be offered them for joining excursions of historical interest. Superintendent Frye, of the Cuban Educational Department, expresses himself as believing that the result of the Summer School courses would be to create an influence which would tend to make the Cuban teachers good citizens, not of the United States, but of Free Cuba. The Outlook will have in its August Magazine Number, which is also its annual Educational Number, an illustrated article about the Cuban teachers in Cambridge.

❀

New York City's Tax Rate

Variations in the rate of taxation and valuation of property in this city are of interest to the country at large, because of the relatively great proportion of wealth and business in this vicinity. The tax rate for the following year, which has just been fixed at $2.30, shows a material reduction over the rate of last year—$2.48. This does not, however, mean that the expenses of the city are decreasing. Even this might seem to be the fact when it is known that it is proposed to raise by taxation in 1900 about six million dollars less than the previous year. Yet despite this apparent reduction of expense there is a real increase of perhaps a million dollars, because last year special appropriations had to be made for deficiencies which did not properly belong to the expenses of that year. The lessening of the tax rate is due in part to the annual increase in total valuation. This gain is not really large, although to readers unaccustomed to dealing with large figures it may seem so; the increase in assessed valuation amounts to about one hundred and seventy million dollars, but when it is remembered that the total assessed valuation reaches the enormous sum of more than thirty-five hundred millions, it will be seen that the increase is not extraordinary, and in point of fact it represents simply the ordinary increase in value of real estate, less a deduction made for the alleged decrease in personal property. The last item named will excite derision, and merely goes to show once more that the attempt under the present laws to collect taxes on personal property in this city is futile and ridiculous. Another element which has entered into the decrease of the tax rate is the fact that Comptroller Coler has turned into the Treasury very considerable sums of money from inheritance tax collection, and from other legal sources which he has faithfully utilized. With a sound municipal corporation tax law, rigidly enforced, still greater reductions in taxes may reasonably be expected in the near future.

❀

Smith College

The completion at the recent Commencement of Smith College of its first quarter-century with an enrollment for the current year of 1,118 students, in contrast with the sixteen of 1875, naturally draws attention to the unparalleled continuous growth through which it has become the largest college for women in the world. The visitor to the campus as well as the reader of the catalogue becomes aware of this. In 1875 there were three buildings there—College Hall, the President's house, and Dewey House, where most of the students lived. Since then eighteen buildings have been erected, nine of them for the college work in art, music, botany, science, etc., and nine for students' homes. The names of these—the Albright House, the Dickinson, the Hatfield, the Hubbard, the Lawrence, the Morris, the Tyler, the Wallace, the Washburn—testify to the liberality of a few, but Smith has not since its foundation received any large testamentary gift. The $50,000 presented by an anonymous friend for the erection of the recently completed Seelye Hall, for recitation rooms, the library, etc., was regarded as exceptionally large. Many small gifts testify to the gratitude of the alumnæ. That so much has been accomplished with rather slender resources, and that the college has gained the public esteem which its numbers indicate, is due largely to the sagacious administration of President Seelye. Starting with Sophia Smith's bequest of $365,000, starting also in the then experimental period of women's colleges, he has accomplished results as distinguished as those which have won distinction for the President of Harvard. The doubt with which some wise men regarded a woman's college a quarter of a century ago seems now rather strange. President Porter, of Yale, then a trustee of

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such a college, was consulted by one of his old pupils as to whether his daughter had better be placed in this or that college. "I advise you," he replied, "to educate her yourself at home." That day of small faith and small things has advanced to amplitude and assurance under a management which has been as intent on high scholarship as on safe investments and economical thrift. The social side of college life, which the Spectator touched upon recently in his account of the Commencement at Smith, has also been judiciously fostered, and seems to be regarded as highly attractive. At the opening of the autumn term it is intended to mark the end of the full twenty-five years since the first opening with two days of appropriate commemoration.

❀

The Free Lecture System

More than once we have described in The Outlook the system of free lectures carried on in the city of New York under the auspices of the Board of Education, under the immediate direction of Dr. Henry M. Leipziger. This method of providing free public lectures to be given in school-houses, first tried in New York in the winter of 1889, has since been adopted in many of the cities and even smaller towns of the country with large success. Dr. Leipziger's report for the year ending on May 1 last, which was the twelfth year of the experiment, shows extraordinary progress and most encouraging results. In the first year, 1889, six school halls were used for lecture purposes, and 186 lectures were given to about 23,000 persons; the growth of the system is seen when we add that in the twelfth year 48 halls were used, 1,871 lectures were given, while the audiences numbered 538,084 people. Experience has shown that a grouping of the lectures is possible which will allow hearers, if they wish, to follow a definite course of instruction, while the individual lectures are at the same time enjoyable to those who are not following regular courses. Notwithstanding this, it has been found wise also to give a separate carefully arranged series of lectures for the benefit of those who wish to follow a distinct and consecutive course of study. As what was at first an interesting experiment has developed into a serious and important factor in education and instruction, the subjects of the lectures have become more and more scientific and definite, and have aimed more and more at positive education rather than temporary entertainment. To mention only a very few of the subjects treated systematically, we may note that the courses included lectures on physiology, on the care of health, on first aid to the injured, on mechanics and electricity, on music and sound, on nature-study, on recent scientific inventions, such as the wireless telegraphy, and on subjects closely related to current history, as in the lectures given by officers in the recent war with Spain, describing military and naval experiences and methods. Of course there were also many lectures on purely literary topics and on biographical subjects. As will be seen from the figures given above, the audiences have been large, and increasingly large. Dr. Leipziger says of the character of the audiences: "No gathering could be more democratic than that which gathers in these lecture halls, including all grades in our social life and representing all elements."

❀

Women's Education in Germany

Reports of what the promoters of the higher education of women are doing in Germany reach us from time to time, with testimony of a steady and gratifying progress. An educated American lady now there, having recently visited one of the best of our women's colleges, sends her friend in the college faculty an account of the tenth annual Congress of the *Verein* (Union) of German women engaged in this movement. The character and extent of it are revealed in the following extract, which we are permitted to make:

> I think you would have been surprised at the advanced position of German women in the matter of higher education. I certainly never met a group of women of higher intelligence and greater dignity of bearing in public speaking and more perfect charm of manner in social intercourse than those who constitute the heart of the *Verein*. There were three hundred and fifty delegates present from all parts of Germany, the United States, England, and France, and the large assembly-room was always crowded. The reports showed the *Verein* to have grown in its ten years from a membership of eighty-five to nearly eleven thousand. . . . To me, the most

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interesting feature of the Congress was the spirit pervading it, which carried everything before it. The *Verein* is in its infancy, and its spirit is youthful—proud of what has been accomplished, and confident of its strength and resources for further development.

The letter gives no facts in detail of specific results. There is great significance in the general fact which it discloses, of the great and growing number of German women thus confederated for the enlargement of the educational opportunities accorded to their sex.

❀

The Anglican Church Crisis

The decision of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, which we noted May 12, that the reservation of the sacrament practiced by the Romanizing party in the Church of England was not permissible, does not seem to have discouraged that party. They have put forth a Declaration which practically defies the Archbishops. This paper, put forth at the annual meeting of the English Church Union, a body with 40,000 members, affirms, first, that "the bread and wine, through the operation of the Holy Ghost, become in and by consecration, according to our Lord's institution, verily and indeed the Body and Blood of Christ;" next, that "Christ our Lord, present in the same most Holy Sacrament of the Altar under the form of Bread and Wine, is to be worshiped and adored." (It is for adoration that the reservation of the sacrament—the unconsumed portion of the elements—is practiced.) The Union further declares that it "will abide by such teaching and practice as follow from this doctrine of the whole Catholic Church of Christ." The general tenor of the Declaration is that the Church Union's interpretation of "the faith and teaching of the one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church," rather than the authority created by the Parliamentary establishment of the State Church, holds the prior claim of obedience. The defiance of the Archbishops in this remarkable document draws a new line between the Protestant and the Romanizing sections of the Church, raises anew the question whether the Protestant character of the Episcopal Church shall be preserved, and, on this issue, exhibits the aggressive Anglo-Catholic ritualists in the character of pronounced "Independents," a name once given to those whom the State Church flouted as "sectaries." The gage has been flung, but the battle has yet to be fought. On the other side, at the recent annual Conference of the Yorkshire Evangelical Union, the president's address stated that Evangelical Churchmen were face to face with the fact that at least one-half, and probably a larger proportion, of the Church clergy were faithless to the Protestant religion as by law established, and to their ordination vows. Of 18,432 Anglican clergymen 9,731 were involved in the ritualistic movement. A brighter side of the prospect appeared in his statement that, since the Evangelical members of the Church of England were powerless by themselves to secure any real purification of the Church, both wisdom and duty dictated a closer drawing of the bonds of union and co-operation with the Evangelical Free Churches. Of more significance, perhaps, than the large number of the ritualistic clergy, as given above, is the rapid growth of ritualism. From 1888 to 1898 the number of ritualistic parishes given in the "Tourists' Church Guide" rose from 3,776 to 8,183.

❀

Friends' Summer School of Religious History

A Summer School of Religious History has been in session at Haverford College, from the nineteenth to the thirtieth of June, drawing its students from thirteen States and two Territories, besides Tokyo, Japan, the Isle of Wight, Cuba, Newfoundland, and London. Nearly four hundred names were registered, representing the following religious denominations: Buddhist, Swedenborgian, Lutheran, Presbyterian, Congregational, Baptist, Episcopalian, with a large majority of Friends. The purpose of the school was to present an intelligent and reverent study of some of the epochs of Biblical and Church history, and to equip Friends for better service in their respective localities. Men of strong religious convictions, whose chief desire is to discover and present the truth, presented papers on such subjects as these: "The Codes of the Pentateuch," by Professor George F. Moore, of Andover; "How to Interpret a Pauline Epistle," by J. Rendel Harris, of Clare College, Cambridge, Eng-

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land; "The Historical Setting of the Book of the Covenant," by Professor Barton, of Bryn Mawr College, and the "Formation of the Old Testament Canon," by Professor Russell, of Eastham College. Dr. Washington Gladden had for his topic "The Sermon on the Mount as the Basis of Social Reconstruction," and Professor Clarke, of Colgate University, "The History of the Doctrine of the Atonement." Other subjects, such as "The Roots of Quakerism," by Professor R. M. Jones, of Haverford; "The Rise of George Fox," and "Worship and Ministry Among Early Friends," drew the attention of the school to the circumstances of those early days when Quakerism first claimed its place among the religious denominations of the world. These papers reproduced the views of Friends, which were then considered peculiar, but which now have been adopted in part by other evangelical denominations. Professor Ladd, of Haverford, gave a helpful paper on "Scientific Study and the Christian Life," in which he said: "It is most reassuring to us struggling Christians to know that God through all the ages has graciously recognized the limitations of humanity, and that if we freely and lovingly open our hearts to receive each fresh disclosure of the divine nature he will help."

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Political Parties Besides the two great political parties, the Democratic and the Republican, there are seven others—the Socialist Labor party, the Social Democratic party, the De Leon Socialists, the United Christian party, the Prohibition party, the Populist party, and the Silver Republican party. It is possible there may be two others, an anti-Imperialist party and a Gold Democratic party. None of these parties, in our judgment, are to be taken as serious factors in the Presidential election, except as one or the other of them may detract sufficient votes in certain localities from either the Democratic or the Republican organization as to affect local results. The real issues for 1900 are between the Republican and the Democratic parties. We shall, however, at a future date, in order to complete the history of the times, give to our readers a brief statement of the personnel and principles of the other parties in the field.

The Southern Educational Conference Among the many Conferences of the present season, the one on Education in the South, which recently held its third session at Capon Springs, W. Va., perhaps stands alone in an attempt to bring together in hearty co-operation and mutual support the representatives of all sections and of all classes of educational work in the Southern States. Unique in personnel, including business men as well as those eminent in the teaching and other professions, it seems destined to be productive of close and harmonious relations among those interested in Southern education. Many phases of work were brought before the Conference—work among the whites and among the blacks; means of culture outside the school-room; periodicals, public libraries, and loan collections of works of art; public school problems and those of higher education; and the best means of reducing the present friction between the races. The last was perhaps the most important question that engaged the attention of the Conference, as it is the most pressing one before the country at large. *Work* was pronounced to be the keynote of the situation—skilled, productive labor with a margin—work which would increase the economic value of the individual. When a Southern educator—a Virginian—says "The dignity of labor is the biggest question in the South to-day. We need to put on our overalls and go to work," it is time that the American people gave heed and provided the means for the great ignorant masses of both races in the South to learn *how* to work with mind, heart, and hands so that their lives may be too full to have time for lynching or for any of the crimes which cause it.

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Means and Methods The best method of making possible this complete education of all the people the Conference believed to be, in addition to the introduction of manual training in all the public schools, the establishment in every Southern State, by means of State, Government, or private aid, of industrial schools for each race like those that are already doing something towards bringing about the desired end. Some members advocated appealing for Federal aid as an

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emergency measure, but the suggestion did not receive the unanimous support of the Conference, although many felt that no other agency would be adequate for the solution of this grave and perplexing problem. The general plan—the establishment of an adequate number of industrial schools to educate all the poor whites and the negroes—must appeal to the people of the country as a measure promising vast results. A minor but important resolution passed by this Conference was the appointment of a committee which will serve as a bureau of information for philanthropic people who are constantly besieged by appeals for aid for schools. A generous public will be glad to be protected from the numerous frauds who support themselves in this way. The committee consists of the Hon. J. L. M. Curry, Washington, D. C., the Rev. G. S. Dickerman, field agent of the Conference, and R. Fulton Cutting, to whom communications may be sent by those interested, 34 Nassau Street, New York City.

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The Democratic Convention

It is the object of The Outlook to tell the history of each week as it will be told by the future historians, when the excitement and the prejudices which obscure the vision of the present spectator have passed away. This is for two reasons a very difficult undertaking: difficult because the writer is himself subject to those prejudices and influenced by those excitements; difficult because the reader is subject to the same infirmity. That either the writing or the reading will wholly escape party prejudice is not to be expected, and unless both writer and reader are immune the result will not be a wholly dispassionate impression. Nevertheless, this is the purpose of The Outlook, to be maintained with such success as it can attain, during the Presidential campaign now fairly initiated.

In every political Convention divergent and even antagonistic influences intermingle in producing the final result; it is an old proverb that politics makes strange bedfellows. It was illustrated by the contrasts between Platt and Roosevelt and between Quay and Long in the recent Republican Convention. But never, we think, has it been so strikingly illustrated as in the Democratic Convention just held at Kansas City; never did politics bring stranger bedfellows together than when it united in the same political organization Mr. Croker and Mr. Bryan.

Each of them is a typical and representative man. Mr. Croker, with a frankness for which we may be grateful, has declared that he is in politics for what he can make, and his avowal was greeted with cheers by his constituency. Rarely in American history has any man so openly declared himself a self-seeker in public life; never has a constituency so discarded all pretense of any higher motive. It may perhaps be contended that Tammany Hall represents no worse spirit in American politics than the Philadelphia ring; but it represents that spirit more openly, confesses it more frankly and unreservedly. This element was very much in evidence in the Kansas City Convention: in the manifold indications of Mr. Croker's potent influence; in the frankly confessed desire to evade the issue of 16 to 1 so as to secure the vote of Eastern States without losing that of Western States; in the presence and apparent popularity of Senator Clark, deprived of his seat in the Senate because his purchase of it had been too palpable to be denied or doubted. We do not recall any National Convention in American history in which the men who use politics by corrupt means for corrupt ends have been more in evidence than they were in this Democratic Convention.

Nor any in which men of pure lives, sincere purposes, honest and disinterested beliefs, and popular sympathies were more in evidence. Of this element William J. Bryan, the candidate of the party for the Presidency, was the most distinguished representative. Mr. Bryan has been called a "shifty politician." That is exactly what he is not. To the doctrine of 16 to 1 he has adhered with a pertinacity which only a vital faith could produce. By his personal influence he defeated the policy of evasion and secured the explicit affirmation of this financial doctrine, despite the fact that if every State which voted for it in the Convention should vote for him in

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November, and no others, he would lose the election, and despite the apparently well-authenticated warning that his policy would insure his defeat. William J. Bryan has proved himself an honest man, a sincere lover of the people, his dominant motive a passionate desire at once to lead and to serve them, his strength a faith in them and in himself as one of them.

But with these praiseworthy qualities are others not so praiseworthy. The Anglo-Saxon statesman has always studied history, evolved the political principles to guide him in the future out of an examination of the past, and thus achieved political reform by an evolutionary process. Mr. Gladstone, the great leader of England's democracy during half a century, enunciated that principle with great clearness in his affirmation that the present and the future must always grow out of, never be severed from, past history. French reform proceeded by an altogether different process. The earlier French revolutionists were men of honesty of purpose and breadth of popular sympathy, and were dominated by a sincere desire to establish a commonwealth of liberty, equality, and fraternity. But they did not study history in order to learn political principles. They evolved their principles out of their own inner consciousness. Whatever they thought ought to be they affirmed was; and, on these affirmations, they built in a day a republic fated to topple over into ruins in the succeeding night. English reform was evolutionary, French reform was revolutionary. Mr. Bryan appears to us to represent a French tendency in American politics; his supporters in the Democratic party to have the enthusiasms, the popular sympathies, the devotion to ideas, and also the unhistorical bases, the *a priori* reasonings, the impracticable methods which characterized the French reformers.

Mr. Bryan's platform, for we are authoritatively assured that his influence dominated in its preparation, begins by assuming as an axiom the one declaration which we borrowed from the French phrase-makers, and dropped as a parenthesis into our Declaration of Independence, that all governments instituted among men derive their just powers from the consent of the governed; it erroneously assumes that this purely incidental phrase epitomizes the spirit of our Government, of which the Constitution is the form and letter; and on this phrase is built at least one-half the pla form. This disregard of the actualities of life gives a certain air of unreality to the entire declaration of principles. We do not doubt the sincerity of the phrase-makers, but the phrases are, as the saying is, "in the air." The declaration that the Filipinos are entitled to govern themselves is affirmed by delegates who scoff at the idea that negroes are entitled to any share whatever in government. The declaration that we will never allow an American people to be held in subjection by any European authority is coupled with a declaration that we ought not to have any other means with which to enforce our will on other nations than a small standing army and a State militia. The affirmation that we ought to give the Filipinos a stable government is coupled with a bitter condemnation of the Republican party for attempting to do that very thing. The platform condemns monopoly in any form, in curious oblivion of the fact that one of the prominent members of the Platform Committee is one of the prominent sharers in the Ice Trust. It proposes that we disregard the action of other nations in regulating our currency, and "avoid entangling alliances" with them, but simultaneously proposes to enter into European politics by proffering sympathies to the Boers in their conflict with the English, and one of the speeches of one of its orators rhetorically suggested an intervention by a voice of command on their behalf, with the implication that the voice of this Nation would quite suffice for the purpose.

We do not attempt in this editorial to discuss in detail the issues presented by the Democratic platform. Such discussion we must reserve for future issues of The Outlook as the campaign progresses. It is enough to say here that we recognize fully the fact that the adoption of a colonial policy, or anything approximating it, is a departure from the conceptions of the fathers and the traditions of the past; that the doctrine that all subjects under United States authority possess all the rights conferred by the Constitution of the United States upon its citizens, which is implied if not expressed in the affirm-

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ations of this platform, is one which deserves serious debate, though we do not believe that it is tenable; that in our judgment the proposal that we extend over the Filipinos "protection from outside interference such as has been given for nearly a century to the republics of Central and South America," suggests a parallel which has no justification in facts; that the dread of militarism involved in the creation of a standing army consisting of less than one soldier to every thousand of the population is a fictitious dread with no danger to justify it; and that the proposal to abolish the war tax, that is, the internal taxes, with no proposal for a general reduction of the tariff, implies a purpose to maintain taxation on that expenditure which bears heavily on the poor, and to remit that form of taxation which is conveniently and without difficulty paid by the well-to-do.

But we think that the most striking feature in this National Democratic Convention which the future historian will note will be the singular partnership between confessedly self-seeking office-holders and apostles of ideals conceived in the closet, between Tammany and Reform, between Mr. Croker and Mr. Bryan. What would come of this partnership if it should be successful at the polls it is difficult to predict. History, however, indicates that whenever an idealist, scrupulous in conscience but not practically wise in worldly judgment, unites with a self-seeker, practically wise in worldly judgment but unscrupulous in conscience, the latter almost invariably succeeds in using the former, both because he knows more accurately what he wants and because he cares not how he accomplishes his purposes. This is what experience of the past would presage respecting the future as to this new and singular political partnership.

Referring our readers for details to the platform itself, which we print in full on other pages, we here summarize its more vital and essential statements, as two weeks ago we summarized those of the Republican party. It demands:

Immediate independence for Cuba.

Independence and a protectorate for the Philippines.

The extension of all the provisions of the Constitution over all the territory of the United States.

The free and unlimited coinage of silver at a ratio of 16 to 1.

The construction, ownership, and control of a Nicaragua Ship Canal by the United States.

General legislation against trusts; specific abolition of tariff on all products monopolized by trusts.

It denounces government by injunction and the Ship Subsidy Bill.

And it expresses sympathy for the Boers "in their unequal struggle to maintain their liberty and independence."

The first four propositions The Outlook disbelieves; the fifth it believes, if the word Isthmian be substituted for the word Nicaragua; the sixth and seventh it approves with certain limitations and definitions; with the eighth it is not in accord—it can have no fellow-feeling for a people struggling for liberty to oppress other peoples.

We recognize not only in Mr. Bryan, but in his immediate followers, a genuine sympathy with the common people and a disinterested zeal for certain real or assumed reforms conceived in their interest. But these praiseworthy qualities appear to us to be vitiated by an idealism which disregards the facts of life and the lessons of history, and which seeks ends of doubtful values by impracticable methods. Nor do we believe that the American people will intrust the power of the Federal Government to the hands of a party which proposes to correct a supposed injustice, unconsciously perpetrated in 1873, by consciously perpetrating, in a new change of the currency, another injustice in 1900; which borrows from Rousseau a phrase and builds a whole system of political economy upon it, when the system from which that phrase is borrowed has been disproved by history and discarded by all scholars; which insists on universal suffrage in the Malay Archipelago, where it never has been, and under present circumstances cannot possibly be, exercised, and regards it as preposterous in the Southern States, where the party has full power to establish it; and which proposes to avoid entangling alliances with other peoples and at the same time to assume full responsibility for the conduct of a people just emerging from barbarism after three centuries of tutelage under Spanish oppression, while disavowing all

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rights of sovereignty and all careful control over their actions.

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The Situation in China

The situation in China continues to absorb the attention of the whole Western world, and furnishes another and striking illustration of the fact that the races are being drawn together, in spite of racial animosities and apparent antagonisms of national interests, by the ties of a common civilization. Seldom in history has any tragedy been set on so great a stage or had such a concourse of spectators as that which has been played at Peking during the past few weeks, for, even if the worst apprehensions are not realized, the events which have taken place in China have been essentially tragic in their nature. A great deal has yet to be learned about the origin and extent of the present outbreak, which for the time being has threatened not only to obliterate a large part of the foreign population of the Empire, but almost to wash out the traces of Western civilization. It is now apparently clear that the movement is essentially one of reaction, and that the tragedy has its rise, as tragedy always has its rise, in the collision of two opposing principles; the essential antagonism between two different civilizations. On a lower field and in a spirit of violence Eastern and Western conceptions of life, society, and man have come into sharp antagonism. The history of the next century is likely to present as one of its chief and most significant features the peaceful struggle between Oriental and Occidental ideas, the modifications which they will mutually effect, and the final supremacy of those ideas which most adequately interpret the facts of life and give freest play to the development of the human spirit. The outbreak in China is in a sense a local and preliminary collision between these opposing ideas, precipitated largely by ignorance and superstition and expressing itself in semi-savage forms. The introduction of Western ideas, methods, and propositions into China has been more rapid during the last two decades than has been the education of the Chinese in spirit to receive them. This reactionary movement, however disastrous and widespread, will not be permanent. In the nature of things, the Chinese cannot rebuild the old wall about the Empire.

The chief interest for Western peoples is in the question whether a line may be drawn in the present crisis between the Manchurians, representing the foreign Tartar element in China, and the Chinese, who are the true citizens of the Middle Empire. If, as is reported in some quarters, the present disturbance is an outbreak of the suspicious, barbaric, foreign-hating Tartar population, which dominates the army and is represented by the ruling family, while the Chinese population, as a whole, does not share in this frenzy against foreigners, the situation is much clearer. It now looks as if the reigning family had fallen by the hand of one of its own kin more reactionary than the Dowager Empress herself, as if civil war was reigning in and about Peking, and as if the governors of the central and southern provinces were holding themselves aloof from the movement. That the Boxers were encouraged by the Empress there is no longer reason to doubt; that they grew more powerful than she intended is highly probable; and that Prince Tuan seized the opportunity to turn the swift tide of violence to his own advantage is entirely credible. It remains to be seen whether Prince Tuan will succeed in establishing himself on the throne or whether the Manchurian dynasty will be deposed and the Chinese resume self-government after four centuries of servitude. If there is to be a civil war in China between the Manchurians and the Chinese, it will be the duty of the Powers to help the Chinese restore order and re-establish authority; for the interests of civilization will best be served by the government of China by the Chinese.

There is grave question whether the action of the fleet of the Powers in bombarding Taku was not a very serious blunder, and at this moment it looks as if Admiral Kempff, in refusing to join in the attack, not only had been true to the traditions of American policy, but had shown a larger wisdom than his fellow-commanders. As a matter of fact, the allies were not strong enough to follow up the bombardment. It looks now as though the chief result of their action had been to infuriate the Chinese, and the Chinese Consul-General in San Francisco, who is, like the Chinese Minister at Washington,

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a man of great intelligence and ability, declares that the bombardment of Taku was the chief cause of the final and furious attack upon the legations in Peking. Until the darkness which now enshrouds the whole situation is dispelled it will be impossible to demonstrate or dispel the soundness of this view, but it looks at this moment as if from every point of view the bombardment of Taku was a mistake.

A good deal has been said and will be said in criticism of the missionaries. It will be found that the men and women at the different missions in China will prove, practically without exception, their devotion to the cause they represent by quiet heroism or by courageous death. If Christianity needs any further martyrs, it has or will find them in China, as the occasion may arise. The most tragic element in the present situation is the suspense in which hundreds of households in this country and abroad have been kept for the past few weeks. That the missionaries have sometimes made mistakes, that they are not always tactful, that they are sometimes indiscreet, no one questions; for missionaries, however devoted, are still human. Serious questions are likely to arise respecting the rights of missionaries in such countries as China; questions which must be considered in a very large spirit and which will have to be decided on grounds of general principle; but the testimony of those who have a right to be heard with regard to the character and work of the missionaries in China is almost unanimous in praise, not only of their sincerity, but of their wisdom, their patience and their fidelity to the interests of the Chinese. If the missionary were the sole representative of the civilization from which he comes, there would rarely be any trouble in foreign countries. The difficulty is that he is always accompanied by the trader, the speculator, and the man who, under the forms of modern commerce, is essentially a freebooter. It is safe to assume, even in the darkness which now covers the situation, that the present disturbance in China was not caused by the blunders of missionaries, but is the expression of a widespread reaction within the Chinese Empire, if not among the Chinese themselves, against the steady penetration of the country by the influences of Western civilization.

Sham Americanism

Judge Grant has written a number of books which disclosed keen observation and growing acquaintance with the social aspects of life in this country. He has proved himself a domestic and social philosopher, happily commingling sharp vision with a good deal of rational philosophy touching practical matters and every-day relationships. But he has taken a great step forward in his new story, "Unleavened Bread," which bears the imprint of Messrs. Charles Scribner's Sons—a piece of work which in depth of feeling, clearness of insight, and power of characterization puts him in a new rank as a writer. It is unpleasant because it deals with an aspect of American life in which the most ardent American cannot find anything to gratify National pride. Judge Grant, with a kind of remorseless sincerity and a touch of passionate indignation, has laid bare that section of society which, underneath the most ardent professions of the possession of the purest kind of Americanism, is hard, selfish, vulgar, pretentious, and unscrupulous. The title of the book happily characterizes the society which it describes. It is not that section of society which is underdone, so to speak, but that which is without the element which gives lift and growth; it is a society without the leaven of aspiration, of sincerity, or of honesty.

The story is not a satire, because it is a plain record of fact, but it has all the force and interest of a satire. It is not an attack on clubs or on the women who belong to them. It must not be mistaken as a study of the dominant types of American life; doubtless many will object to it and regard it as unfair because it groups together and presents with such relentless fidelity a set of people most of whom are corrupt to the very core with the most insidious hypocrisy and selfishness. On the contrary, the book shows in a very tender and beautiful way some of the finer types of the American nature; types of aspiration, of traditional gentility, of that kind of good breeding which expresses itself in the manners but has its roots in the heart, and of that simple and searching integrity which has been the leaven of our society since the beginning. What Judge Grant has done has been to

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fasten upon an aspect of American society which is essentially hateful, to throw it into clear view, and to sketch it with remorseless fidelity; and the suppressed passion with which he has done this work makes one feel that, true as the book is to its artistic attitude, it is not without a conscious ethical purpose. It is not crudity which Judge Grant attacks; for crudity, if it be not assumed to be other than it is, is as sound and wholesome as any other stage of immaturity; it is sound and wholesome because it is in the course of nature, and it is sacred because of that which may come out of it. It is no disgrace to be ignorant if one confesses his ignorance and is on the high road to knowledge; there is nothing humiliating or discouraging in crudity if one knows that he is crude and is endeavoring in right ways to secure ripeness of character, judgment, and taste. There is a great deal of crudity in this country, for the very good reason that there are far greater opportunities of escaping from hard conditions on this continent than anywhere else, and there are more men and women who are in the process of education than anywhere else.

It is not the crude aspects of life here which discourage the wise and the generous, and it is not this aspect of life which Judge Grant has touched with such a sure hand; it is the pretentious and hypocritical aspect of American life. Selma White, with the platitudes of aspiration upon her lips and the constant declaration of the great duties and the immense superiority of American womanhood in her mouth, is pretentious, cold, cruel, and unscrupulous from the beginning to the end of the story. Constantly avowing her loyalty to the highest principles, there is not one generous impulse in her nature; dealing forever in sounding phrases of aspiration, she is from the very start bitterly jealous of those who are more fortunately placed socially than herself, and vulgarly ambitious of social success. She stands for that false Americanism which is so often mistaken for genuine Americanism because it is pushing, brazen, and voluble. She is the type of the American who thinks that, because she is an American, she can do everything without training, discharge all the functions of life without education, and know the good from the bad in every department of art without any preparation in her own nature. She has no standards of righteousness, because what she wants is always right. She is as relentless as steel when she comes in contact with the sensitive nature of her second husband, and she relentlessly breaks his spirit; she leads her third husband on to his final and fatal breach of honor; and never once for a single moment, in the whole course of her consistent life of selfishness, does she see her own image or recognize her own character. She scorns domestic life, because, being without the slightest ability to measure herself, she believes herself framed for higher and larger things. She is smitten with a restlessness born of her vacuity of soul and her own lack of harmony with life, but she ascribes it to the denial of proper conditions.

Most of the successful American novels have been studies of character and life in different sections of the country; Judge Grant has fastened upon a type of character which is to be found in all parts of the country, and he has written a story which is not only admirable from the standpoint of construction and workmanship, but which ought to be a means of grace to a great many men and women who hold low standards without knowing it; whose conception of the spirit and privileges of American citizenship is shallow and false, and who are a real hindrance in the development of high civilization and of a wholesome and gracious society in this country. The book has a genuine corrective quality, and more than once, by very happy touches in a genuinely artistic way, it sets the true in contrast with the false. Selma White never sees herself, but she has several opportunities, and one of them is afforded by a woman of another type, also extremely well drawn. These words, in the mouth of Flossy Williams, show how acutely Judge Grant has diagnosed the disease with which he deals, and how clearly he understands what he is trying to do:

> You're one of those American women—I've always been curious to meet one in all her glory—who believe that they are born in the complete panoply of flawless womanhood; that they are by birthright consummate housewives, leaders of the world's thought and ethics, and peerless society queens. All this by in-

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stinct, by heritage, and without education. That's what you believe, isn't it? And now you are offended because you haven't been invited to become a leader of New York society. You don't understand, and I don't suppose you ever will understand, that a true lady—a genuine society queen—represents modesty and sweetness and self-control and gentle thoughts and feelings; that she is evolved by gradual processes from generation to generation, not ready-made. Oh, you needn't look at me like that. I am quite aware that if I were the genuine article I shouldn't be talking to you in this fashion. But there's hope for me because I'm conscious of my shortcomings and am trying to correct them; whereas you are satisfied, and fail to see the difference between yourself and the well-bred women whom you envy and sneer at. You're pretty and smart and superficial and—er—common, and you don't know it. I'm rather dreadful, but I'm learning.

As there is a hypocrisy which uses the phrases of religion while violating its elementary principles, so there is a sham Americanism which talks glibly about freedom and equality and "effete Europe," and in its heart is given over to mean ambitions, cheap tastes, and vulgar successes.

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The Currency Issue

In an editorial on "The Real Issue" in The Outlook for June 9, we stated that:

If Mr. Bryan should be elected, he could do nothing to give effect to what he calls bimetallism and what his opponents call free silver. Congress has taken from the President the powers which he formerly possessed, and has required that all the obligations of the Government be paid in gold. The President cannot reverse this action of Congress; and it is certain that nothing less than a financial and political revolution would induce Congress itself to reverse it.

The ground on which this statement was made was the Act of 1900. Prior to that time there is no question that the President had power to pay the obligations of the Nation in silver, for, with certain rather important exceptions, such as the silver and the gold certificates, the obligations of the United States Government are made payable in coin, and coin was by law declared to be gold or silver at the option of the Government. This option could be exercised by no one else than the Secretary of the Treasury, acting under the direction and with the approval of the President. Therefore, if, four years ago, Mr. Bryan had been elected President, he could, and, if he had been consistent, he would, have paid these obligations in silver, because he held that silver was the coin in which debtors ought to be paid, since gold had appreciated and so increased the amount of the debts if they were paid in gold.

But Congress by the Act of 1900 has declared that a dollar consisting of twenty-five and eight-tenths grains of gold nine-tenths fine shall be the standard unit of value, and all forms of money issued or coined by the United States shall be maintained at a parity of value with this standard, "and it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to maintain such parity." It appears to us that this law takes from the President the power to exercise the option of the Government in paying its obligations; that for the President to pay out any coin not equal in the world's market to a gold coin of twenty-five and eight-tenths grains and nine-tenths fine would be as illegal as for him to pay out a gold coin of twenty grains or made of gold seven-tenths fine. We suspect that if Mr. Bryan were elected President the Republican papers which are now insisting that under the law the President could pay our obligations in silver would be among the first to insist that he would render himself subject to impeachment by so doing.

At the same time it must be confessed that the law of 1900 is not as explicit as it ought to be. Professor J. Laurence Laughlin, of the University of Chicago, in an exhaustive article in the Chicago "Journal of Political Economy," points out serious defects in this law. It does not re-define coin as gold; it does not take away the legal-tender quality of the silver dollar, or any other money, coin, or issue by the United States; it does not in terms provide that all the obligations of the Government shall be paid in gold; and Professor Laughlin insists that "a silver-loving Secretary of the Treasury could to-day pay off very large amounts of Government obligations with silver dollars."

While we do not agree with Mr. Laughlin's interpretation of the Act of 1900, we recognize him as a competent authority to speak on such a question. The fact that he takes this view at least demonstrates that the law is ambiguous. The emphasis laid by the Democratic party at Kansas City upon the issue of 16 to 1,

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and the fact that this emphasis was laid upon this issue at the demand of Mr. Bryan, indicate that if he were elected he would avail himself of all the powers which any legitimate construction of the law could be deemed to give him to pay the coin obligations of the Government in silver. Whether, therefore, he has this power or not, it is certain that the election of Mr. Bryan would impair the National credit, because it would be taken to imply an indication to use a depreciated currency in the payment of National obligations, even if the election of a Bryan Congress was not followed by a repeal of the Act of 1900 and an act authorizing, if not requiring, the payment of the Nation's obligations in silver.

To this extent we must modify the statement made in our article of June 9, as quoted above.

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Learning From Life

It is almost impossible to overvalue the capacity to be educated by experience, since experience must be for most men the prime instrument of education, and for all men one of the great means of education. Experience, if it is searching, does not leave us as it found us; it either enriches or depletes, increases or diminishes, our individual power; and it does the one or the other in the exact degree in which we accept or shut ourselves away from its educational significance. There are men and women who breast the waves of trial as a swimmer breasts the waves of the sea, simply pressing his way through them; and there is often a certain heroism in the despairing courage with which a difficult position is held or a great trial borne. But this is at the best and under the noblest conditions a negative attitude; it is not the attitude which takes the poison out of the grief and which draws spiritual strength and individual power from misfortune. There are men and women who go through life fighting every inch of the way, setting themselves to the heroic but impossible task of resisting the inevitable and contending against the irresistible. It is quite possible for a man to stand up against the whole order of life and refuse to yield an inch, and die at his post without yielding; but this is not the attitude of the masterful life; it is not the spirit of those who have nobly borne the burdens of life and met its griefs; who have carried the one and passed through the other to an unshakable repose. To one who studies closely the careers of a number of people, it often seems as if definite lessons were being set, and those lessons are repeated until they are learned. One often hears the remark made that life goes hard with a certain person; when that person's life is analyzed it will almost always appear that it is characterized more by stubbornness or by sheer resistance than by acceptance and willingness to be taught. To those who are not willing to learn, life is almost intolerably hard. They bear the brunt of the terrible onslaught of events as they sometimes come rolling in like the waves of the sea, but they are not lifted by them, and when the flood is passed they are stripped of their possessions. Life is never easy to those who feel, but it is infinitely easier if one is disposed to accept its lessons and to find in experience spiritual enrichment. It often happens that they who have met the events of life with a stoical courage suddenly find, when they have put themselves in the right attitude, that the sea recedes and the winds abate their fury. In any event, it is certain that the teachable attitude puts one in the way, not of easy consolations, but of that strength which comes to those who overcome by acceptance and so transmute hardship into strength, sorrow into sweetness, and discipline into power.

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The Spectator

The Spectator lately had the interesting experience of attending the commemoration of a historical incident disputed by some writers of Revolutionary events, and by some local traditions. All the Spectator has to say is that the location of the incident justifies the celebration independent of historic fact. A hill-top presenting such a view of woods, fields, water, and sky as "Put's Hill" in old Horseneck, within the limits of what is to-day Greenwich, might well be selected for such a tradition if it were only to focus the attention of a people not given to loitering even in their pleasuring. Whether General Putnam ever took the ride down the hill that bears his name or not, the region is indebted to the

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man who first spread a historical mantle over its beautiful ruggedness.

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It is the good fortune of the Spectator to have friends whose ancestors were among the original settlers in the beautiful region; in telling the story of General Putnam and his famous ride, they quote "grandmother," "Aunt Sally," "Aunt Polly," and Aunt Clara," four little girls whose presence on the road in front of their home, situated about a half a mile below the Hill, brought the brave and generous General to a sudden halt in his dashing ride to Stamford. The house which was the home of these four little girls, whose tombstones are to be found in the graveyards of the town to-day, was burned down about fifty years later, but the well and the well-sweep mark the place where for a moment the General halted that moist, warm day in February of 1778. One of these little girls, in her very old age, when the present was forgotten and the past was a vivid reality, always spoke of the incident as connected with the remarkable fact that the day was so mild that she and her sisters had run out-of-doors without capes or bonnets. These sisters all agreed that the General was without a hat when he spoke to their mother, and they all remembered his long hair blowing about his round, kindly face; they felt the spirit of friendliness that led him to pause and warn their mother of the danger close upon her, and to them he seemed like a personal friend. Those who heard the story from the lips of these little girls, heard it when their voices were growing tremulous, when "auntie" and "grandma" were the refuges for young sinners still smarting from the discipline that was founded on Solomon's wisdom; or when the hours of illness became hours of ease and rare enjoyment under the tender and lawless indulgences of an old age linked with childhood.

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On that day in February just celebrated, as the story was told by these old ladies, a busy mother in the typical New England farm-house while in her milk-room heard the rapid beat of horse hoofs coming down the road, or, to use a colloquialism, "across the plain." So fast was the horse coming that the mother hastened round the house to see where her little daughters were. The hatless horseman drew his horse up so suddenly in front of the house as to pull him back on his haunches, exclaiming at the moment, "For God's sake, take your children in. The damned British are upon us." And like a vision horse and rider were out of sight. The children were put in the vacant roof-space of the lean-to; the brave mother went into the woods, leading the horse by the bridle, and driving the cows into the swamp to the south. No British came in sight. For a week the house gave no evidence of being inhabited. The children had only bread and milk to eat. This is the story of General Putnam's ride down Horseneck Hill, as it has passed from one generation to another of this family, the representatives of which came from cities to take part in the celebration that marked the spot where a man and a horse defied the laws of gravity.

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A touch of reality was given to the celebration, not only by the presence of the heroes of modern wars, who add the gift of oratory to that of courage and of arms, but by the presence of red coats here and there in the throng that gathered on the hill-top. These were not coats of warfare, but of peace, distinguishing the man whose marksmanship is shown on the links of a golf course, whose weapons are the indications of wealth or its equivalent, credit.

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The glow of the setting sun died from the distant hills as the crowd dispersed. The Spectator stood in front of the boulder monument which bears the tablet recording the event, and marking, in the judgment of those who placed it there, the spot where the descent began. All the controversy that has surrounded the incident returned to the Spectator's mind. Where did the General descend? was it north or south of the present road? The monument stands to the north. The Spectator's friends insist that it was from a point at the crest of the hill, south of the present road. They emphasize this by the statement that the horse's hoofs broke the mounds in the graveyard through which he drove his horse. This supposed desecration dampened the ardor and patriotism of the people, whose religious sentiments de-

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manded constant recognition, even from a general in the crisis of an attack from an overwhelming force. The Spectator will not attempt to settle this dispute. But he found it interesting that Colonel Humphreys, General Putnam's aide-de-camp, in his "Life of Putnam," verifies the tradition in his friend's family. He also found it interesting to trace the evolution of history in more recent accounts. The little Episcopal church which then crowned the hill—the graveyard about it is a part of memories of the place of those who have not passed middle life—was removed many, many years ago. Those who wrote later located the incident, when they gave it a military setting, on the only hill in the town on which a church is now standing, and has stood since 1705, not knowing that at the time of the attack of Tryon on Horseneck a church stood on the crest of Put's Hill. Its successor, a beautiful stone church, is now about a city block distant from that place.

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Art has made General Putnam's ride spectacular. Modern illustrated-journalism has never exceeded the exaggeration of the early artists who recorded this incident. The steps down which this horse and rider were represented as descending at an angle possible only with the aid of a miracle, were, in reality, such as would be made up any steep hill by people who wished to shorten the distance to given points. The people living east of Put's Hill wished to avoid the long distance by the road which circled the foot of the Hill and ascended it far to the north of the present road. The stones in this foot-path were picked up from the hillside and placed at irregular distances to meet the needs of the children who went to the school near the second hill from the plains below, and of the women who went to church, and exchanged visits, often carrying babies. Such steps are found on hillsides to-day, made for the same purpose, to shorten distances between two points.

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The Spectator as he looked down the road to the cottage that the later historical writers associated with General Putnam lived in imagination through the scene—a post of one hundred and fifty men suffering for lack of proper food and clothing, short of ammunition, with two field pieces, without horses, or even drag ropes, rallying under a brave and much-loved commander against a force of fifteen hundred elated and stimulated by success! Suddenly realizing the hopelessness of defense, the commander sends his men into the swamp south and west, inaccessible to horses, and himself diverts the enemy's attention by turning in another direction. What more natural than for horse and rider to follow the road? The turn, which is sharp, reveals the reckless exposure which must result from crossing the road below—now a meadow—with the enemy on the hill-crest. Suddenly horse and rider plunge down the hill, crossing zigzag the foot-path with its crude attempt at steps. General Putnam knew the country well enough to know that a dash through those woods would bring him to the top of the hill below and to the level stretch of road. That was "the plain" across which his rapid approach was watched by the mother and her four little girls.

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Above the still air rang out the silver tones from the clock of the church that crowns the hill to the west. The Spectator turned toward the sky, tinged with a faint glow, and walked through the streets where wealth and luxury have hidden and driven out of sight the gentle, simple people, whose divisions of opinion were on such subjects as the probability or impossibility of riding down the hill and the questions as to which point marked the plunge, and whether or not the deed was to secure personal safety or to warn those exposed to the hated and dreaded General Tryon?

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The next morning after the celebration the church bells called the people together. After service, the people lingered on the hill-top. All day pilgrims visited the spot, and lingered longest over the beautiful scene that is now, as it were, the antithesis of war, of suffering, or of cowardice. If the tale is true, fate was kind that gave a man's daring such a setting; if it is fiction, wise was the man who chose the background of Put's Hill for his story. The Spectator is grateful, either way.

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THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION

Reported for The Outlook from Opposite Points of View

I.

The Story Told by a Democratic Staff Correspondent

THERE were two Conventions in Kansas City last week, and they may be briefly characterized as the better and the bigger. It was my fortune to see the better Convention first, and when I saw it I felt as if I could claim that the new democracy of to-day, in its personnel and spirit, is the successor of the new republicanism of 1856.

I reached Kansas City Tuesday morning, and found the streets crowded with serious people, most of them from the smaller towns or farming districts, typical representatives of the plain people of America. After breakfast I fell in with a Silver Republican editor from the State of Washington, and went with him to the Silver Republican headquarters. The men whom I saw there were of a type radically different from those who had crowded the hotel lobbies at Philadelphia. They were, in the main, men in medium circumstances. I was not surprised when the first of these delegates with whom I talked—an old Abolitionist from Ohio—spoke almost immediately of the disposition of the Prohibitionists of his district to vote for Mr. Bryan, or, in any event, to vote against Mr. McKinley. The Administration's ridiculous method of repealing the Anti-Canteen Law, and the introduction of the American saloon as the first prominent stage in the benevolent assimilation of the despised Filipinos, had evidently been revolting to the conscience of the anti-saloon element of the Republican party.

When I went to the Silver Republican Convention Hall itself I found that all the delegations were of the type of those I had seen about the headquarters. The delegates were men with whom moral considerations were obviously supreme. To a remarkable extent they were men well past middle life. A large part of them, I was told, were old soldiers. About two hundred out of the twelve hundred, it afterwards appeared, had voted for Lincoln in 1860. The age of the delegates was particularly impressive, because the Populist movement and the Bryan Democracy were distinctively in the hands of men under forty-five. Apparently the greater age of the Silver Republicans was due to the fact that the older men of that party who believed in bimetallism clung most tenaciously to the name Republican, while the younger were more ready to join the Populists or enter the ranks of the Democracy. The delegates I talked with were distinctly more conservative than most Populists in their expressions on every question except Imperialism. Upon this question, however, the men who had fought for the right of negroes, not only to govern themselves, but to help govern us, were intensely chagrined that this Nation should now be fighting the Filipinos to deny them the right to govern themselves. One of them said to me: "It is the greatest infamy in American history."

When this Convention had been called to order by Chairman Towne, it was opened by a prayer by Dr. Bigelow, of Cincinnati. It was a prayer for the oppressed. Chairman Towne's address was brief and serious. The men who had left the Republican party in 1896 because of its abandonment of the principle of bimetallism at the dictation of the banking interests were still further alienated by its explicit indorsement of the gold standard and its yielding to the banks the right to issue the paper money of the Nation. But the separation from their old party was most of all made irrevocable by the party's betrayal of the principle of human rights

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upon which it had been founded, and upon which also our Nation had been founded. "It was the belief of Washington and Jefferson and Lincoln," said Mr. Towne, "it was the ancient faith of the American people that God gives liberty to all races of men. What God has decreed to be the inheritance of all men, McKinley shall not be permitted to deny to any. We appeal from the last platform of the Republican party to the Declaration of Independence; from the impious presumption of a perverse President to the eternal justice of the Almighty Father, whose judgments are true and righteous altogether." This declaration that the Republican platform amounted to a repeal of the Declaration of Independence brought the delegates to their feet. The spirit which in 1896 made them protest against a currency plank which sacrificed the rights of debtors to the interest of creditors made them in 1900 protest still more vigorously against a colonial policy which sacrifices elemental human rights to commercial greed and race pride.

When I went to the Democratic Convention, I hoped to find a somewhat similar spirit manifested here. I did not attend the Convention at Chicago in 1896, but the fairest and ablest account that I read of it—that published in the Springfield "Republican"—said that the silver delegates from the West and South were, as a rule, men whose faces had been more often seen in prayer meetings than in political caucuses. I did, however, expect that the delegates would show more indications of serious political purpose than the delegates at the Republican Convention in Philadelphia. In this I was disappointed. The Eastern delegates—those from east of Iowa—were for the most part of hardly so high a grade as those in the Republican Convention. In the Republican Convention the prevailing type was that of the materialistic business man or corporation lawyer—whom no considerations of truth or justice would lead to break with the powerful classes. Whatever these classes desired was the creed of the Republican delegates. In the Democratic Convention the prevailing type was that of the city politician whom no consideration of humanity, truth, or justice could force to break with their party. Whatever would bring to their party the control of the offices made up their political creed. The Michigan, the Minnesota, the trans-Missouri and the Southern delegations were, as a rule, of a somewhat better type, but the Convention as a whole, like the Republican Convention at Philadelphia, did not seem to me fairly to represent the moral tone of the serious, hard-working, home-loving people of the United States.

As a spectacle, the Kansas City Convention much surpassed that at Philadelphia. The hall, which had been constructed in three months—and largely from brick and iron—could not have been bettered for its adaptation to the purposes of a great gathering. The platforms and galleries were so placed that the clearer speakers could be heard in the remotest parts of the hall, and the ability of the audience to hear checked the buzz of conversation, which at Philadelphia had made almost everything unintelligible to almost the entire audience. The hall, too, was beautifully decorated with flags, and when, soon after I reached it, the Declaration of Independence was read, and the National hymn was sung, the spirit which seemed to fill the audience enabled me to recover in a measure from the depression which the appearance of the delegations had inspired.

During the first day there was one significant speech and there were two significant political demonstrations. The significant speech was made by ex-Governor John P. Altgeld, of Illinois. It was as fine an expression of the spirit of the allied parties which supported Mr. Bryan in 1896 as has been made by either Mr. Bryan or Mr. Towne. It was just the speech which the delegates needed to hear, and perhaps, for that reason, it was just the speech which two-thirds of them did not want to hear. Among the things which cut to the quick were these:

> Four years ago we quit trimming, we quit using language that has a double meaning. We protested against making this country a mere tribute-paying colony of England. We issued a new Declaration of Independence. We promulgated a new gospel of humanity. We went forth armed with that strength that comes from candor and sincerity and we fought the greatest campaign ever waged on the American continent.
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> If we stand by our colors we will win this year. If we weaken, if we begin to trim, if we begin to make nice adjustments, then, my

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friends, we will lose the confidence of the progressive people of America, and will be defeated and despised. Fortunately, our great leader has stood like a rock in the oceans beating back the storm. Why is it that for the first time in the history of this Republic the Democracy of America from ocean to ocean have risen up in favor of one man, and there are not twenty-five delegates in this Convention who would have come here if their people had not believed they were coming here to support the man who is the choice of the Democracy of America? This great Democrat, who to-day is in the hearts of the American people, has gotten that hold on them because they have confidence in his sincerity.

These words were spoken by ex-Governor Altgeld because they were the words which the delegates to this Convention needed to hear. The spirit of a majority of these delegates was the spirit of compromise for the sake of the immediate possession of the offices of the National Government. Of course motives were mixed and many of them believed that they favored compromise to advance the interests of liberty, whose friends throughout the world had been injured and embarrassed by America's swerving from the principles for which she has always stood. But while this desire to secure the ends of humanity was on the lips the desire for party victory was uppermost and undermost in the hearts of most of the delegates. This was indicated by the demonstration given to David B. Hill, of New York, the old political "leader," who, professing to be, above everything else, "a Democrat," had shown himself to be a Republican on every economic question presented during the last twenty years. This demonstration, confirmed by half of the talks I had with individual delegates, showed that a large minority, at least, of the delegates, were for Mr. Bryan, not because they sympathized with his spirit, but because their constituents demanded his nomination. As one Californian expressed it to me, they were "for Bryan, because he was the best man to win with, and for a Bryan platform, because they could not have Bryan without it," but they were "for a candidate for Vice-President who would restore to them the votes of the conservatives and the Germans who had left them in '96."

The demonstration for ex-Senator Hill alarmed me less when I heard that which followed the first mention of the name of Mr. Bryan at the close of the permanent Chairman's address. The scene at Philadelphia when McKinley was nominated was as nothing to that then witnessed at Kansas City. There were no pampas plumes waved by the Chairman of the National Committee to prolong the uproar, and while I could not help feeling that its duration for more than half an hour was due to muscular exertion rather than emotional fervor, it was none the less the greatest cheer I had at that time ever heard. After this cheer I felt sure that if Mr. Bryan asserted himself he could secure a platform in harmony with his own ideas and those of the anti-monopoly party which has grown up about him—a party which west of the Alleghanies is more than twice as strong numerically as that which supported the Democratic Congressional candidates in 1894.

Nevertheless, that evening those who really care for the principles of the new democracy were full of uncertainty and alarm. The Platform Committee had met at three o'clock in the afternoon and at ten in the evening was still in session. There was a report on the streets declaring that by a majority of two the committee had voted to simply "reaffirm" the Chicago Platform without declaring for the restoration of silver to the currency upon the old terms. Men professing the most intense devotion to the renewed coinage of both metals were urging that as a matter of expediency an explicit statement of this belief should be avoided to win New York and conciliate the Germans. Senator Daniel, of Virginia, who presided at the Chicago Convention and made the strongest argument on the criminality of depriving or cutting in two the world's supply of currency, led in the movement to avoid a "plank" expressing his life-long convictions; and delegates from Texas and California—a State where a large part of the rural Republicans favor the free coinage of silver—seconded him in this movement. On the street I met an old acquaintance, who for four years has claimed to be a radical free coinage man, and he told me half a dozen reasons why an explicit declaration should be avoided, but every one of these reasons betrayed a desire to adopt a platform

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which could be read in one way by one set of men and in another way by another set of men. When I urged the necessity of keeping true to our principles and preserving an anti-monopoly party which anti-monopolists could trust, his reply was that this was ideal, but that I should remember that these delegates wanted offices.

The Committee on Resolutions remained in session until three the next morning. The next day one of its members—an unquestionably sincere silver man, who nevertheless opposed the insertion of an unequivocal silver plank—gave me an account of its proceedings. The real battle of the Convention was fought in this Committee. The arguments of George Fred Williams, of Massachusetts, and Senator Tillman, of South Carolina, supported by the diplomacy of ex-Governor Stone, of Missouri, barely prevented a decision that would have been a confession to the world that the Democratic machine supported no principles when party expediency stood in the way. Even these men, said my informant, with some bitterness toward Mr. Bryan, could not have secured their final majority of two votes had it not been for telegrams from Mr. Bryan to two members of the Committee, stating that he would not accept the nomination unless the platform contained an explicit declaration for the free coinage of silver. Even in the morning, when the majority had decided to yield to Mr. Bryan, instead of "saving him from himself," there was still the belief that a minority report would be presented to the Convention, and fear that the numerical strength of several of the delegations opposed to silver would secure the adoption of the minority report. Ex-Senator Hill, who the day before had predicted that no silver plank would be inserted, was now predicting that the minority report would be presented, but when the Convention met on Thursday afternoon he had lost in this fight also, through the consciousness of the delegates that their constituents demanded Mr. Bryan and the principles for which he stood, and that as Mr. Bryan would not yield they must.

The single concession made to the conservatives grew out of the recognition by Mr. Bryan's friends that the burning issue of this campaign—the issue that must be settled the coming November—was that of Imperialism. This concession of Mr. Bryan's representatives was seized upon by one of his Eastern supporters whose constituency did not favor a silver plank as affording a way out of the difficulty. A platform was drafted in which the belief of the whole Committee that Imperialism was the supreme issue was made the keynote of the document. The reading of the resolutions was given to Senator Tillman, and the scene was in the most vivid contrast to that at Philadelphia when the Republican resolutions were read. There delegates left the hall during the reading of the party's principles. Here the whole audience of fifteen thousand, every one of whom was reached by Senator Tillman's penetrating voice, followed the platform with intense interest. When he finished the long plank, reasserting, like the Republican platforms of 1856 and '60, the consecration of this Nation to the principles of the Declaration of Independence, and declaring the issue of Imperialism to be "paramount" in this campaign, a cheer went up which lasted half an hour, and all that time was a cheer that came from the hearts of the people. Flags were distributed all over the hall, bearing upon them the words, "The Constitution and the flag, one and inseparable." The delegates and the audience, and the audience more than the delegates, cheered from their hearts because the principles enunciated were those that had given birth to popular liberty in this country and all over the world.

At this point the Convention reached its climax. There was another great cheer, of course, when Mr. Bryan was nominated, but when the Convention kept it up for half an hour after my own disposition to cheer had been satisfied, I could not help thinking it the result of effort rather than emotion. As a Republican friend remarked, "When men have known that something was going to take place for months they do not naturally yell for half an hour when it does take place." There was, however, this evening one cheer that was significant. The fourth speaker who came to the platform during the call of States to second the nomination of Mr. Bryan was ex-Senator Hill, of New York, and his speech, which was a model of tactful expression, was received with the

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most unbounded enthusiasm. His declaration that Mr. Bryan was the choice of the whole Democratic party, and that the principles enunciated would receive the support of every member of a reunited party, brought a perfect storm of applause. The next morning when the nomination took place the Hill enthusiasm again broke forth. The candidate favored by the more earnest supporters of the spirit of the new democracy was Charles A. Towne, of Minnesota, who, without question, was the man of the finest intellect, the finest culture, the finest character, and the finest abilities as a popular orator of all the men presented at the Convention. In nearly every delegation, except the few that were composed exclusively of anti-silver politicians, Mr. Towne had friends, and the only two objections urged against him were that he came from west of the Mississippi, and that he was not a Democrat, but instead was a Silver Republican who had been nominated by the Populists. To the Southerners, especially, the fact that Mr. Towne had once been a Republican was a telling argument against him, and, except in South Carolina, he had few friends in that quarter. Nevertheless, he was the hero of the anti-monopolists, who swarmed the galleries, and was recognized by those who care for character and ability most as the supremely fit associate for Mr. Bryan on the ticket. When he was named there was a great cheer, lasting ten minutes, which was general everywhere except among the delegates. When ex-Vice-President Stevenson was nominated the cheer from the audience was faint, but from the delegates it was strong, but when Senator Hill was placed in nomination the cheer was tremendous from both the delegates and the audience, and lasted more than a quarter of an hour. Nearly the whole body of delegates was at some time or another on the floor to express its readiness to take Senator Hill. When the applause subsided Senator Hill took the platform and declined the honor in words that convinced the mass of the delegates that he wished to decline. After his declination, the delegates, who were bent on doing the practical thing and reuniting the old party, even at a sacrifice of the best spirit of the new, turned almost with one accord to ex-Vice-President Stevenson. The result of it all was that Mr. Stevenson was nominated on the first ballot, receiving almost six times as many votes as were given to Mr. Towne.

The Silver Republican Convention had nominated Mr. Bryan with enthusiasm more heartfelt than that of the Democratic Convention, but when it learned that Mr. Towne had been rejected by the Democrats the delegates at first were inclined to keep two tickets in the field. When Mr. Towne took the platform to decline the Vice-Presidential nomination, they would not allow him to speak, drowning his voice with continual cheers. When at last he succeeded in making himself heard, they were still unwilling to accede to his request that they should indorse Mr. Stevenson. Finally, however, his appeal and that of Senator Teller for union in the cause of liberty secured a vote giving the National Committee authority to act as it saw best. This Committee that evening accepted Mr. Stevenson. The Populist Committee was still more bitterly disappointed by the defeat of Mr. Towne. It had no authority to substitute the name of Mr. Stevenson, even if it so desired, and it must either continue Mr. Towne in the field, dividing electors with the Democrats as in 1896, or it must go into the campaign with no Vice-Presidential candidate. Mr. Towne desires to resign, but will remain on the Populist ticket, if this seems essential to bring out the full Populist vote in the doubtful States of the Far West.

In the outcome of its proceedings the Democratic Convention at Kansas City presented a most complete contrast with the Republican Convention at Philadelphia. At Philadelphia the only inspiriting event was the election of the Vice-President; at Kansas City the election of the Vice-President was the only disspiriting event. As I thought of this I was reminded of a story which John Brisben Walker told me during the Convention. Governor Altgeld, he said, had been asked what reply he would make on the stump if some Republican called out "How about the Ice Trust?" "I should say," replied the ex-Governor, "that the Democratic party has its rascals as well as the Republican, but that the difference was that the Republican party had its rascals at its head, while the Democratic

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party had its rascals at the tail, and was trying to shake them off." In the present campaign the contrast between the two parties is very similar. It is only the tail of the Republican ticket which awakens enthusiasm among the great body of voters; it is only the tail of the Democratic ticket which fails to awaken enthusiasm. Neither the Republican candidate for President nor the platform of interests upon which he stands appeals to the heart or the conscience of the common people, while both the Democratic candidate for President and the platform of principles upon which he stands appeal to the heart and conscience of the common people of America as they have only been appealed to before by Lincoln and his platform in 1860 and by Jefferson and his platform in 1800.

II.

The Story Told by a Republican Staff Correspondent

KANSAS CITY ought to be proud of its care of the Democratic National Convention. As hotel accommodation was insufficient for the delegates and visitors, many were forced to seek lodgings outside. These speak with enthusiasm of the energy and discretion shown by the Arrangements Committee in securing large, airy, and well-appointed rooms in private houses at prices below what would have been paid at hotels even in ordinary times. The Kansas Cityans showed a sympathetic interest and desire to help, not only at their homes, but also on the streets, as was evidenced by the wearing of badges bearing this inscription, "Ask me; I am a citizen."

The city may also be proud of its Convention Hall. Just ninety days ago the building in readiness for the Convention was burned to the ground. To-day a new structure has taken its place, substantial and commodious, the result of day and night labor for three months by an army of workers. While not so large as the Philadelphia hall, the interior arrangement of the one at Kansas City is the more advantageous in that the platform is placed at one side of the oblong instead of at the end; hence the speeches here were heard by more people than was possible in the case of the Philadelphia oratory. At the same time, with the exception of the reading of the Declaration of Independence the first day's speaking here was not a success. Governor Thomas, of Colorado, and Representative Richardson, of Tennessee, the temporary and permanent Chairmen, made remarkable addresses, but they were not heard save by a comparative few; it is true, however, that neither of these speakers has a resonant voice, and neither has even the primitive graces of oratory. While the orators of the Convention's second day were more successful, if National gatherings continue to increase in size, no living orator will be equal to the task. Only a megaphone will be able to accomplish the now seemingly impossible task, but even a megaphone might not check a volubility, of which the Democratic seemed to have twice as much as the Republican Convention. The acoustics of the hall here are probably as good as those of any—"I'd like to see 'em beat it," said a citizen to me this morning with aggressive pride, as he regarded the effete Eastern man.

The delegates represented every social station, but, as was admitted even by Democrats, the moral average was not high. Yet all claimed and received attention; even Mr. Bryan was forced to recognize the political blackmailers and automatons ruled by Mr. Croker in telegraphing "My greetings to Tammany on this anniversary of the Nation's birthday." Again, the average of morality was also patently lower than at Philadelphia. There one saw and heard some darky delegates from the South, of the hopeful Booker T. Washington order; here I saw no colored brother, though I was told that there was one from a Northern State. There is no hope for the negroes of the South in the Democratic party—a party which has already disfranchised as many as it dares. Among the delegates as a whole there predominated the face, square, solid, stolid, patiently but persistently office hungry—

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material, not ideal. As a matter of fact, most of the delegates were merely political messenger boys.

If Philadelphia's atmosphere is older and solider and serener than Kansas City's, the latter's is to many more stimulating; it represents more of the nervous—they have only time to call their town Kancy—and the unconventional, but none the less it typifies an admirably hearty, wholesome, breezy Westernness, and the Democratic Convention was in appropriate keeping with all this. It was less well managed and it was less orderly than the Republican Convention, but there was far more fun at it, of the horse-play order. A spectator might have thought himself at some college mass-meeting or the Oxford "Commem," when the undergrads up in the top gallery at the Sheldonian are allowed liberties in chaffing their elders below. So it was here. There were organized yells from high school boys, let alone college boys. One enterprising New York paper had sent out fifty high school boys; what a preparation for serious life for them these days here! There were continual hootings and emittings of a curious sound, "Yow-ow-wow-ow," and when the very climax of cheering arrived the wild Western war-whoop signalizing it was certainly ahead of anything heard at peaceful and placid Philadelphia. Emotionalism has been at no discount here. Organized enthusiasm gives occasion for a united display of emotions, but when that display here lasted more than five minutes at a time it degenerated into mawkish yiaulings and disorder, in which the telegraph boys took occasion to roam at will about reporters' desks (unchecked by the ushers, who did such good work at Philadelphia), firing paper balls or other missiles at any convenient head. It was a depressing spectacle. A more inspiring scene occurred yesterday in the sudden and beautiful display of thousands of flags, followed by the superb singing from fifteen thousand throats of the National Anthem. In general, however, as compared with the Republican Convention, the Democratic seemed like emotion versus reason.

Though he was not present, the Convention was dominated by the personality of its Presidential nominee. His influence was supremely marked in the decision on a question which his unflagging energy, more than any other's, has forged to the fore during the past half-decade. As in 1896, so in 1900, the main thing to be settled in the Democratic platform was not so much a discussion of the financial question in general, but of the currency question in particular, and in very particular, of the question of the ratio between the two principal metals used in coinage, gold and silver. On other questions before the Platform Committee there was no apparent division, but upon this there was sharp division. All through the night, between Tuesday and Wednesday, the Platform Committee was in session trying to settle differences. Hence the real battle of the Convention was not fought out before the eyes of the Convention itself; it was fought in the privacy of closely guarded quarters at the Kansas City Club.

Even among Silver Democrats a secret fire had been smouldering beneath a more or less serene surface. It was the fire of determination to save the Democratic party from further fanaticism in its stand for free silver. Gold Democrats aside, the Platform Committee suddenly found itself facing the spectacle of a disunited party. On one side were Mr. Bryan and his immediate followers, who wanted to keep silver in the foreground: on the other, three-quarters of the delegates, unfortunately represented by only half of the Platform Committee, who wanted to keep it in the background. Both sides realized, however, that the only thing on which there was serious division could not be forced to the background. The Bryanites, or radicals, still maintained that the theory of an inflexible ratio could still be successfully defended; the conservatives declared that it could not be. They had discovered that an inflexible ratio is not genuine bimetallism; it is silver monometallism and therefore a barren ideality, past which the world has now marched to the only practical ideal.

Another secret force animating the delegates was the new prosperity. When they met at Chicago four years ago depression and discontent existed. Mr. Bryan had seen that wave coming and had astutely taken advantage of it by crying 16 to 1 as a panacea for all ills, and by prophesying that we would never

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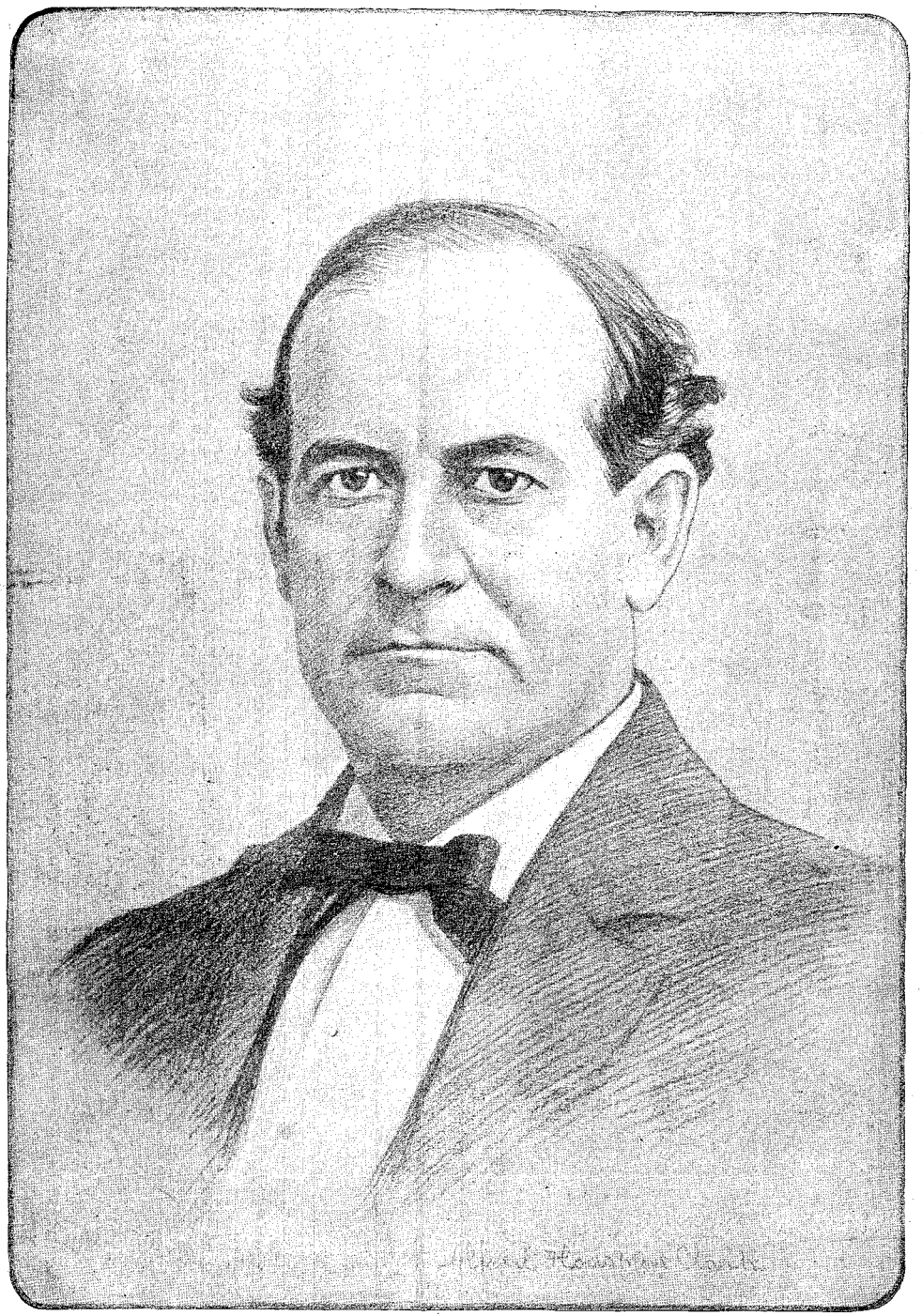

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN

From a drawing made for The Outlook by Alfred H. Clark, from a photograph, furnished by Mr. Bryan, which he and his friends consider his best likeness.

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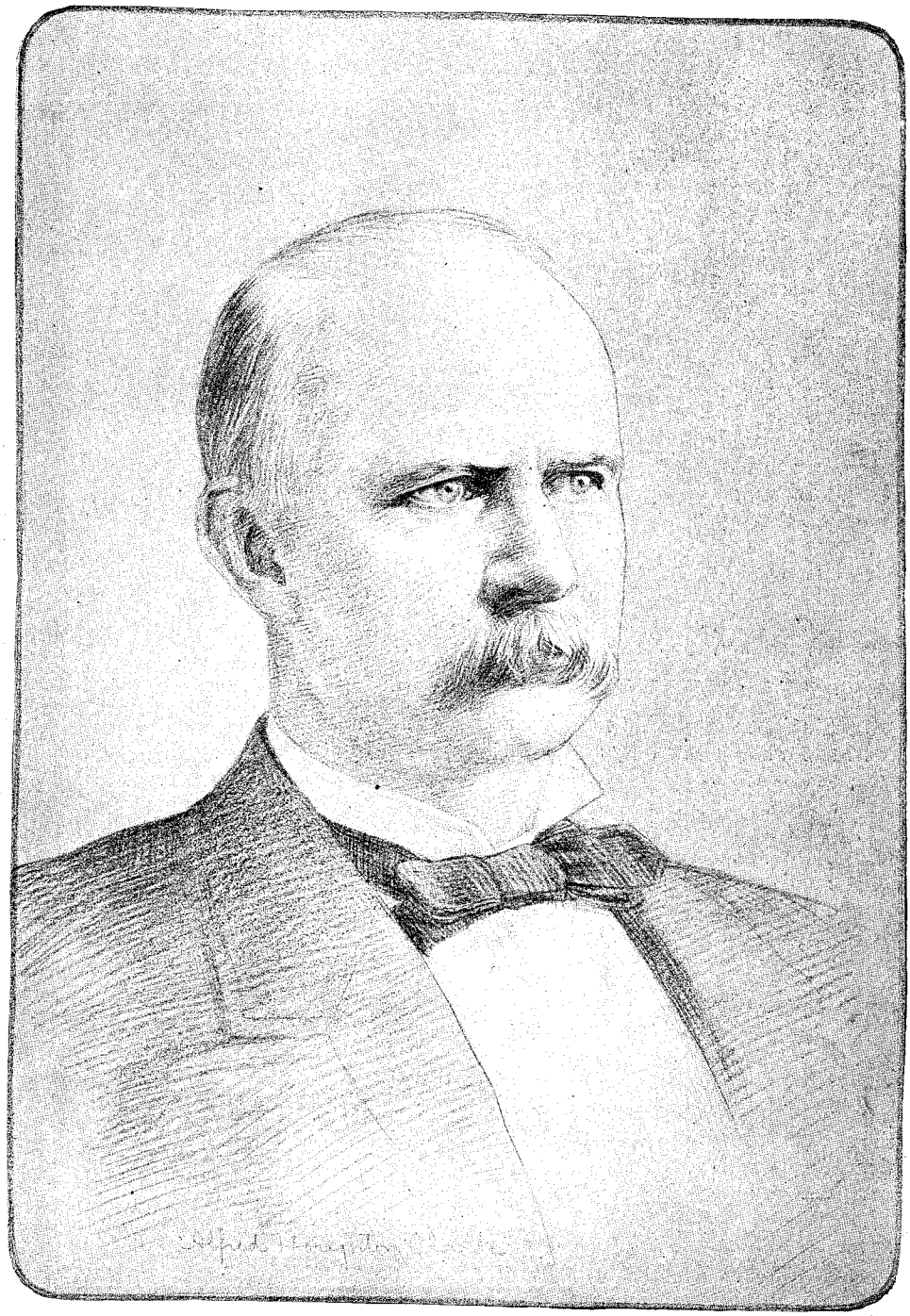

ADLAI E. STEVENSON

Drawn from a photograph by Alfred H. Clark for The Outlook.

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have prosperity until we had 16 to 1. But even Silver Democrats now see that an unprecedented prosperity has come without the Bryan panacea.

Lastly there was another ambition than Mr. Bryan's to be taken into account. In the New York delegation meeting, Mr. Croker's action in preventing Mr. Hill's nomination as Platform Committeeman deprived the Committee of the latter's vote against 16 to 1, a vote which might have made a platform on which Mr. Bryan could not have stood, but on which Mr. Hill could. A New York delegate said to-day: "Hill is a shrewd politician, and I believe he expected to win first place on the ticket. He was checkmated by being kept off the Platform Committee, and that prevented him from killing 16 to 1. With that plank thrown out, Bryan would have refused to run, and then Hill expected to jump into the gap."

The result of all showed that (1) the majority believed in bimetallism on general principles rather than on the specific principle of the ratio, and (2) that the question was between two totals of electoral votes. Mr. Bryan led one total, Mr. Hill the other.

At midnight the specific ratio insertion of 16 to 1 was defeated by a majority of two; at dawn it had regained its ascendancy and was restored by a majority of two. The restoration was due to a telegram from Mr. Bryan, who, with characteristic and admirable firmness, declined to be a candidate unless he could stand on his own 16 to 1 platform. Never was there a more notable instance of one-man power than in the consequence of this telegram. It reversed the committee's decision. The wave of resistance from more than half the delegates rolled against the suicidally headstrong will of one man in vain. The platform as presented was the register of his honest but blind devotion to financial immorality. The stubbornest opposition went down before one who has been called the Napoleon of the silver forces, though he has never led those forces to victory. His masterful domination of them forms an example of "Imperialism," with himself as Imperial master. Not since Jackson's time has any Democratic leader commanded a more absolute unity of fealty.

Colonel Roosevelt said the other day, "People don't like a quitter." Colonel Bryan has shown that he is no quitter. His consistency in sturdily adhering to what he believes to be the right principle, even in the face of political expediency, will go far to dispel the feeling, more or less rife in 1896, that he was a demagogue. He is not that; he is a sincere man with a praiseworthy scorn of pretense, even if his face may seem to some rather smug and self-conscious and his manner apparently studied and histrionic.

The consistency of such a leader deserved the enthusiasm which the mention of his name awoke during the Convention, but many cheered the man rather than the idea which he represents. Magnetic leadership added to high personal character makes Mr. Bryan a dangerous factor in politics. The better a man is, the more perilous to the community he becomes when his theories go awry. The time will arrive when the history of 16 to 1 will be written as one of those periodic crazes which sweep over countries and civilizations.

While the plank as adopted by the Committee, and later by the Convention, avoids the subterfuge of mere "reaffirmation," the refusal to dissemble means a greater safety to the country, as it points out more clearly the country's danger. Especially will this be felt by the independent German voter, whom the Democrats have been trying to capture by raising the cry of militarism. "Few Germans, however, will be scared enough by this bugaboo to vote for a forty-eight-cent dollar," said a Milwaukee man to me. "Republicans ought to be grateful to Mr. Bryan for his consistency in his delusion; he doubly insures Republican victory." As I heard the financial plank read I noted its omission of one statement: Democratic leaders from Thomas Jefferson to Grover Cleveland maintained the doctrine that intrinsic values regulate the circulation value of every specie dollar. In its last analysis the issue is moral rather than economic.

The result of the currency fight was a compromise on the platform, though a compromise in which Mr. Bryan came out ahead. The mere "reaffirmers" surrendered to the fatuity of 16 to 1, provided that the currency question be relegated to the third place among the three great issues. Mr. Bryan's order of these issues

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had been: (1) Currency, (2) Imperialism, and (3) Trusts. The platform order, as adopted, was: (1) Imperialism, (2) Trusts, (3) Currency. While Republicans know that when next November comes around Mr. Bryan will be defeated primarily on the issue which defeated him in 1896, they gladly accept the charge of "Imperialism" as the paramount or any other issue of the campaign. Incredible as it may seem, Senator Tillman, of South Carolina, had been chosen as a fit person to read the platform, and he read it in characteristically stentorian tones. Such planks as the one arraigning the Hay-Pauncefote treaty he delivered in a sepulchral voice, intended to be scornful, and accompanied by sweeping gestures as far as his arms could swing, denoting that, like Mr. Podsnap in "Our Mutual Friend," he swept all such nonsense into oblivion. When he fiercely announced Imperialism as the platform's paramount issue there was let down from the roof an immense flag, fifty feet long, upon the white strips of which were printed such sentences as this: "The flag of the Republic forever; of an empire, never." No American has ever proposed that it should be the flag of an empire or has ever proposed an empire. The last sentence informed us that "a republic can have no colonies." When the cheers which greeted these sentiments had subsided, this travesty on Carolinian courtesy shouted: "If Mark Hanna had been here he would have thought that hell had broke loose in Missouri."

The long-continued applause for this plank, however, was largely an expression of delight from conservatives that silver did not keep first place in the platform. The cause of the Philippine war is attributed to the Americans by the platform, thus assailing the word of our army officers. In the onslaught upon a supposedly "imperialistic" policy, Jefferson and Jackson had been quoted; but the "imperialism" of the first in Louisiana and of the second in Florida was not mentioned. The inhabitants of the Louisiana purchase and of other acquired territory, not to speak of the Indians, never gave their consent to the Government which controlled them, nor, at a later date, was the consent of New Mexicans and Californians obtained. The name of Lincoln had been also quoted, but not the fact that Lincoln imposed on eleven States represented in the Convention the burdens of the Republic against the will and without the consent of those States. As to the doctrine that the Constitution follows the flag, Mr. Tillman did not quote the opinion of his great South Carolinian predecessor, Calhoun, that it carried slavery into the Territories. Nor does the plank in question indicate that the treaty of Paris was ratified in the Senate last year because Mr. Bryan secured the necessary Democratic votes for it and that by that treaty Porto Rico and the Philippines became territory belonging to the United States. To Congress the power to legislate for such territory is given by the Constitution, and until legislation by Congress takes place it is the province of the Executive to preserve peace in the territory. This has been done with Republican thoroughness, but so greedy are Democratic spoilsmen for colonial offices that they, in common with a few impractical idealists, have raised the cry of "Imperialism," a term applied to the necessary authority exercised over territory not yet created into States. What kind of consistency is that which, declaring in favor of territorial expansion, declares against the authority which must govern such territory.

Then came the paragraph on Trusts. It must have sounded strangely in the ears of the excluded anti-trust delegates from the District of Columbia and of the excluded Daly delegates from Montana. The Credentials Committee's standard of morality was shown in the fact that a motion to investigate the election methods of Mr. Clark, of Montana, who won, had been defeated by a decisive vote. This is the same multi-millionaire who, when arraigned before a body not Democratic—the United States Senate—was promptly and properly excluded on proved charges of bribery in his election methods. The paragraph must have sounded strangely also in the ears of the Tammany delegation, but they seemed to have little sense of humor as they sat stolidly sweltering in the great heat; they had not even the comfort of their own "Ice Trust." One of its stockholders, Mr. Augustus Van Wyck, had been the New York member of the Platform Committee, which

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"pledges the Democratic party against private monopoly in every form." His own private monopoly has doubled the price of a necessity, especially to the poor, and it now defies the law which would restrain its rapacity.

To-day's work was exclusively occupied with the Vice-Presidential nomination. In both the Republican and the Democratic Conventions a New York candidate seemed sure of that honor if he would accept it. Colonel Roosevelt, the Republican candidate, finally acquiesced, standing heartily on the party's platform. Ex-Senator Hill, the Democratic candidate, declined; he could hardly stand on a 16 to 1 platform. It was expected that the Democratic Convention would be induced to swallow the ticket already nominated by the Populist Convention some weeks ago, and would perhaps also swallow a Populist platform, which includes irredeemable greenbacks as well as unlimited silver dollars. Granted that the Democrats would again accept the young Populist leader as their standard-bearer, how about that standard-bearer's even younger colleague? A Vice-Presidential nominee sometimes becomes as much of importance at a Convention as the Presidential nominee himself, as we have already seen in the case of McKinley and Roosevelt. Could Populists impose their second demand also upon the Convention? Up to the meeting of the Convention the principal candidate was supposed to be Mr. Bryan's Populist colleague, Mr. Towne, of Minnesota. Last night I met Mr. Towne for the first time, and shall not soon forget the impression which he made upon me. He is a mild-mannered gentleman, the antipodes of the loud-mouthed Tillman, yet you feel in an instant that the Towne manner covers as much heroic matter as does the Tillman violence. You feel at once that a high and humane soul is looking at you through Mr. Towne's spectacles—they give to their wearer a somewhat professorial air.

Mr. Towne regards you with clear, direct, intelligent eyes, and in them, as a veteran Washington correspondent said to me afterwards, "you see the man's moral courage and consistency beneath his gentle but earnest manner. He showed these qualities abundantly when for the sake of what he had come to believe right (though we may believe it a delusion) he held the attention of the House of Representatives for two hours, at the close of which political friends and political foes alike asked that his time be extended. His speech was a manful defence of the position to which he had arrived. Yet he knew that silence on the subject would have saved him from the political obloquy and oblivion which for years to come must and did overwhelm him." More admirable than Mr. Bryan's own unswerving loyalty to 16 to 1 has been that of Mr. Towne, who had nothing to gain and everything to lose. As a speaker before the masses he may lack the immediate magnetism of Mr. Bryan, but as a speaker before the thinking classes he is more impressive. One who is a personal friend of both men said to me to-day: "Bryan is the more brilliant; Towne the more balanced. Therefore I have more confidence in Towne's statesmanship. The National ticket itself would have been a safer appeal to the thinking man if it could have been Towne and Bryan." Mr. Towne's loyalty to his chief is devoted. He remarked to the writer last night, "As Jefferson opened the nineteenth century to American civilization, so Bryan is opening the twentieth."

But neither Towne nor Hill was chosen. A secret current now came to the surface and, Hill having withdrawn, elected on the first ballot that amiable and personally inoffensive gentleman, ex-Vice-President Stevenson. "What good is he?" yelled a man in the gallery, as Stevenson's seconder was speaking. "I'll tell you," was the reply from the Southron. "We are a solid Democracy. We don't care so much for platform or candidate, but we know that when he was in the Postmaster-General's office Adlai Stevenson didn't leave a Republican standing. He is a good old-time Simon-pure Democrat." He is, and this is the first reason for his nomination. There were at Kansas City many old-fashioned, hard-shell, hide-bound Bourbon delegates. They had been brought for the second time to accept Bryan, the candidate of a million and a half silverites belonging to other parties imposing himself on six million Democrats, but not another man of those affiliations would they stomach. "What!" said an Iowan to me, "in case

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of Democratic success the Populists might get all the offices. We've got Bryan to look after the principles and we've got Uncle Adlai to look after the offices. Whoop!" This is why the Vice-President, at least, must be a Democrat.

The Democratic Platform

We print below the full text of the Platform adopted by the Democratic Convention in Kansas City on July 5:

We, the representatives of the Democratic party of the United States, assembled in National Convention on the anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, do reaffirm our faith in that immortal proclamation of the inalienable rights of man and our allegiance to the Constitution framed in harmony therewith by the fathers of the Republic. We hold with the United States Supreme Court that the Declaration of Independence is the spirit of our Government, of which the Constitution is the form and letter. We declare again that all governments instituted among men derive their just powers from the consent of the governed; that any government not based upon the consent of the governed is a tyranny, and that to impose upon any people a government of force is to substitute the methods of imperialism for those of a republic. We hold that the Constitution follows the flag, and denounce the doctrine that an Executive or Congress, deriving their existence and their powers from the Constitution, can exercise lawful authority beyond it or in violation of it. We assert that no nation can long endure half republic and half empire, and we warn the American people that imperialism abroad will lead quickly and inevitably to despotism at home.

The Porto Rican Law

Believing in these fundamental principles, we denounce the Porto Rico law enacted by a Republican Congress against the protest and opposition of the Democratic minority as a bold and open violation of the Nation's organic law and a flagrant breach of the national good faith. It imposes upon the people of Porto Rico a government without their consent and taxation without representation. It dishonors the American people by repudiating a solemn pledge made in their behalf by the Commanding General of our Army, which the Porto Ricans welcomed to a peaceful and unresisted occupation of their land. It doomed to poverty and distress a people whose helplessness appeals with peculiar force to our justice and magnanimity.

In this, the first act of its imperialistic programme, the Republican party seeks to commit the United States to a colonial policy inconsistent with republican institutions and condemned by the Supreme Court in numerous decisions.

The Pledge to Cuba

We demand the prompt and honest fulfillment of our pledge to the Cuban people and the world that the United States has no disposition nor intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over the island of Cuba except for its pacification. The war ended nearly two years ago, profound peace reigns over all the island, and still the Administration keeps the government of the island from its people, while Republican carpet-bag officials plunder its revenues and exploit the colonial theory to the disgrace of the American people.

The Philippines and Imperialism

We condemn and denounce the Philippine policy of the present Administration. It has embroiled the Republic in an unnecessary war, sacrificed the lives of many of its noblest sons, and placed the United States, previously known and applauded throughout the world as the champion of freedom, in the false and un-American position of crushing with military force the efforts of our former allies to achieve liberty and self-government. The Filipinos cannot be citizens without endangering our civilization; they cannot be subjects without imperiling our form of government, and as we are not willing to surrender our civilization or to convert the Republic into an empire, we favor an immediate declaration of the Nation's purpose to give to the Filipinos: first, a stable form of government; second, independence; and, third, protection from outside interference such as has been given for nearly a century to the republics of Central and South America.

The greedy commercialism which dictated the Philippine policy of the Republican Administration attempts to justify it with the plea that it will pay; but even this sordid and unworthy plea fails when brought to the test of facts. The war of "criminal aggression" against the Filipinos, entailing an annual expense of many millions, has already cost more than any possible profit that could accrue from the entire Philippine trade for years to come. Furthermore, when trade is extended at the expense of liberty, the price is always too high.

We are not opposed to territorial expansion when it takes in desirable territory which can be erected into States in the Union, and whose people are willing and fit to become American citizens. We favor trade expansion by every peaceful and legitimate means. But we are unalterably opposed to the seizing or purchasing of distant islands to be governed outside the Constitution and whose people can never become citizens.

We are in favor of extending the Republic's influence among the nations, but believe that influence should be extended, not by force and violence, but through the persuasive power of a high and honorable example.

The importance of other questions now pending before the American people is in no wise diminished, and the Democratic party takes

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no backward step from its positions on them, but the burning issue of imperialism growing out of the Spanish war involves the very existence of the Republic and the destruction of our free institutions. We regard it as the paramount issue of the campaign.

The Monroe Doctrine

The declaration in the Republican platform adopted at the Philadelphia Convention, held in June, 1900, that the Republican party "steadfastly adheres to the policy announced in the Monroe Doctrine," is manifestly insincere and deceptive. This profession is contradicted by the avowed policy of that party in opposition to the spirit of the Monroe Doctrine to acquire and hold sovereignty over large areas of territory and large numbers of people in the Eastern hemisphere. We insist on the strict maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine in all its integrity, both in letter and spirit, as necessary to prevent the extension of European authority on this continent and as essential to our supremacy in American affairs. At the same time we declare that no American people shall ever be held by force in unwilling subjection to European authority.

Militarism

We oppose militarism. It means conquest abroad and intimidation and oppression at home. It means the strong arm which has ever been fatal to free institutions. It is what millions of our citizens have fled from in Europe. It will impose upon our peace-loving people a large standing army, an unnecessary burden of taxation and a constant menace to their liberties. A small standing army and a well-disciplined State militia are amply sufficient in time of peace. This Republic has no place for a vast military service and conscription. When the Nation is in danger the volunteer soldier is his country's best defender. The National Guard of the United States should ever be cherished in the patriotic hearts of a free people. Such organizations are ever an element of strength and safety. For the first time in our history and coeval with the Philippine conquest has there been a wholesale departure from our time-honored and approved system of volunteer organizations. We denounce it as un-American, undemocratic and unrepublican, and as a subversion of the ancient and fixed principles of a free people.

Trusts, Monopolies, and Protection

Private monopolies are indefensible and intolerable. They destroy competition, control the price of all material and of the finished product, thus robbing both producer and consumer; lessen the employment of labor and arbitrarily fix the terms and conditions thereof, and deprive individual energy and small capital of their opportunity for betterment. They are the most efficient agent yet devised for appropriating the fruits of industry to the benefit of the few at the expense of the many, and unless their insatiate greed is checked all wealth will be aggregated in a few hands and the Republic destroyed. The dishonest paltering with the trust evil by the Republican party in State and National platforms is conclusive proof of the truth of the charge that trusts are the legitimate product of Republican policies, that they are fostered by Republican laws, and that they are protected by the Republican Administration in return for campaign subscriptions and political support.

We pledge the Democratic party to an unceasing warfare, in Nation, State, and city, against private monopoly in every form. Existing laws against trusts must be enforced and more stringent ones must be enacted providing for publicity as to the affairs of corporations engaged in interstate commerce, and requiring all corporations to show before doing business outside of the State of their origin that they have no water in their stock, and that they have not attempted, and are not attempting, to monopolize any branch of business or the production of any articles of merchandise, and the whole constitutional power of Congress over interstate commerce, the mails, and all modes of interstate communication shall be exercised by the enactment of comprehensive laws upon the subject of trusts. Tariff laws should be amended by putting the products of trusts upon the free list to prevent monopoly under the plea of protection. The failure of the present Republican Administration, with an absolute control over all the branches of the National Government, to enact any legislation designed to prevent or even curtail the absorbing power of trusts and illegal combinations, or to enforce the anti-trust laws already on the statute books, proves the insincerity of the high-sounding phrases of the Republican platform. Corporations should be protected in all their rights, and their legitimate interests should be respected; but any attempt by corporations to interfere with the public affairs of the people or to control the sovereignty which creates them should be forbidden under such penalties as will make such attempts impossible.

We condemn the Dingley Tariff Law as a trust-breeding measure, skillfully devised to give the few favors which they do not deserve and to place upon the many burdens which they should not bear.

The Interstate Commerce Law

We favor such an enlargement of the scope of the Interstate Commerce Law as will enable the commission to protect individuals and communities from discriminations and the public from unjust and unfair transportation rates.

Free Coinage at 16 to 1

We reaffirm and indorse the principles of the National Democratic Platform adopted at Chicago in 1896, and we reiterate the demand of that platform for an American financial system, made by the American people for themselves, which shall restore and maintain a bimetallic price level, and as part of such system the immediate restoration of the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation.

The Currency Bill

We denounce the Currency Bill enacted at the last session of Congress as a step forward in the Republican policy which aims to dis-

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credit the sovereign right of the National Government to issue all money, whether coin or paper, and to bestow upon national banks the power to issue and control the volume of paper money for their own benefit. A permanent national bank currency, secured by Government bonds, must have a permanent debt to rest upon, and if the bank currency is to increase with population and business the debt must also increase. The Republican currency statement is, therefore, a statement for fastening upon the taxpayers a perpetual and growing debt for the benefit of the banks. We are opposed to this private corporation paper circulated as money, but without legal-tender qualities, and demand the retirement of the national bank notes as fast as Government paper or silver certificates can be substituted for them.

Popular Election of Senators

We favor an amendment to the Federal Constitution providing for the election of United States Senators by the direct vote of the people, and we favor direct legislation wherever practicable.

"Government by Injunction"

We are opposed to government by injunction, and we denounce the blacklist and favor arbitration as a means of settling disputes between corporations and their employers.

A Department of Labor

In the interest of American labor and the upbuilding of the workingman, as the cornerstone of the prosperity of our country, we recommend that Congress create a Department of Labor, in charge of a secretary, with a seat in the Cabinet, believing that the elevation of the American laborer will bring with it increased production and increased prosperity to our country at home and to our commerce abroad.

Pensions

We are proud of the courage and fidelity of the American soldiers and sailors in all our wars; we favor liberal pensions to them and their dependents, and we reiterate the position taken in the Chicago Platform in 1896, that the fact of enlistment and service shall be deemed conclusive evidence against disease and disability before enlistment.

The Nicaragua Canal

We favor the immediate construction, ownership, and control of the Nicaragua Canal by the United States, and we denounce the insincerity of the plank in the Republican National Platform for an isthmian canal in the face of the failure of the Republican majority to pass the bill pending in Congress.

We condemn the Hay-Pauncefote treaty as a surrender of American rights and interests, not to be tolerated by the American people.

New States

We denounce the failure of the Republican party to carry out its pledges to grant Statehood to the Territories of Arizona, New Mexico, and Oklahoma, and we promise the people of those three Territories immediate Statehood and home rule during their condition as Territories, and we favor home rule and a territorial form of government for Alaska and Porto Rico.

Irrigation

We favor an intelligent system of improving the arid lands of the West, storing the waters for purposes of irrigation, and the holding of such lands for actual settlers.

Chinese Exclusion

We favor the continuance and strict enforcement of the Chinese Exclusion Law, and its application to the same classes of all Asiatic races.

No Foreign Alliance

Jefferson said: "Peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none." We approve this wholesome doctrine, and earnestly protest against the Republican departure which has involved us in so-called world politics, including the diplomacy of Europe and the intrigue and land-grabbing of Asia, and we especially condemn the ill-concealed Republican alliance with England, which must mean discrimination against other friendly nations, and which has already stifled the Nation's voice while liberty is being strangled in Africa.

Sympathy for the Boers

Believing in the principles of self-government and rejecting as did our forefathers the claim of monarchy, we view with indignation the purpose of England to overwhelm with force the South African republics. Speaking, as we believe, for the entire American nation, except its Republican office-holders, and for all free men everywhere, we extend our sympathies to the heroic burghers in their unequal struggle to maintain their liberty and independence.

Subsidy and War Taxes

We denounce the lavish appropriations of recent Republican Congresses, which have kept taxes high and which threaten the perpetuation of the oppressive war levies. We oppose the accumulation of a surplus to be squandered in such barefaced frauds upon the taxpayers as the Shipping Subsidy Bill, which under the false pretense of prospering American ship-building, would put unearned millions into the pockets of favorite contributors to the Republican campaign fund. We favor the reduction and speedy repeal of the war taxes and a return to the time-honored Democratic policy of strict economy in Governmental expenditures.

Believing that our most cherished institutions are in great peril, that the very existence of our constitutional Republic is at stake, and that the decision now to be rendered will determine whether or not our children are to enjoy those blessed privileges of free government which have made the United States great, prosperous, and honored, we earnestly ask for the foregoing declaration of principles the hearty support of the liberty-loving American people, regardless of previous party affiliations.

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Peking on the Eve of Anarchy

By Anna N. Benjamin

[This article was written in Peking in the latter half of May, when the events which have filled the civilized world with apprehension and horror were drawing near. Miss Benjamin, as will be seen, foreshadows accurately the precise event which has now occurred—the temporary triumph of the Boxers and the attack on the foreigners. Her readers will be pleased to know that Miss Benjamin left Peking in time to escape the fate that at this writing seems to have overtaken so many Americans and Europeans.—THE EDITORS.]

THE political situation in this great filthy beehive of a city, surrounding the holy of holies of an Emperor who rules three hundred and fifty millions, has changed little during the past few weeks. "The Son of Heaven" and his official "mother" and ruler are at present out of the city at the summer palace. The old lady is as active as ever, though somewhat checked in her campaign against reforms by the unexpected strength of the reformers. But there is serious trouble afloat, and, if it does not directly emanate from the Dowager, there is reason to believe that it is secretly encouraged by her.

If people in the West have heard recently about the "Boxers" in China, I wonder how much meaning the term conveys to them. Yet it is not impossible that, by the time this letter reaches America, they may have added to the list of their atrocities and perpetrated a massacre of foreigners, against whom the society is especially directed. The name of the association varies, as most names do in China, but perhaps "I Ho Ch'uan" is as common as any. This is variously translated as "Righteous Fist Society" (hence "Boxers") and "League of Righteous Harmony." The righteousness may be better appreciated by the Oriental intelligence than by our own. The strength of the society seems to be in the north, particularly in the province of Chih li, in which Peking is situated. The capital of this province is Pao-ting-fu, one hundred and twenty miles from Peking. Peking being the capital of the Empire, there is of course a separate capital for each province.

Though the society of "Boxers" has but recently been heard from, it is in reality but a present-day manifestation of a secret society which has existed through the whole Manchu dynasty, of which the Emperor, Kwang Hsu, is a scion, for a period of two hundred and fifty years. It was undoubtedly formed by plotters against the Manchu conquerors. Though their plots have never succeeded in ousting the intruders from their firm seat on the Celestial throne, the society has continued to exist under one name or another till the present day. It used to be, not very long ago, "The White Lotus Society;" it has also of late years been termed "The Great Knife or Sword Society." When the already accomplished designs and the hopes of the "Boxers" are known, this seems to be the most appropriate name of all.

As far as can be ascertained the object of the society as represented by the "Boxers" of the present day is of an entirely different nature from what it was at its inception two hundred and fifty years ago. So much is this so that the old Manchu Dowager is considered to be quite in sympathy with their aspirations. It is thought that the slumbering society was wakened to life by certain phases of Roman Catholicism in China. There are more converts to this form of Christianity than to any other. There are several reasons for this. The Roman Catholics have worked longer in China than any of the Protestant missionaries, and they are not so particular about putting their converts on probation. They accept immediately all who come to them. Whether these are faithful to their new religion or not, they are still kept on the rolls. But the cause of the uprising of the "Boxers" is due to a third condition. Recently through the great activity of the French Legation especial privileges have been accorded Roman Catholic subjects. This does not indicate an encouraging attitude towards Christianity on the part of the Government, but rather the Government's weakness in being forced to a position which is exceedingly humiliating and distasteful. So much have the Roman Catholics achieved in this line that a native convert in trouble with his neighbor,

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subjected to lawsuit or arrest, applies immediately to his priest, who responds by sending his card to the local magistrate. This acts like magic, and the convert is released or gains his point. A short time ago the Government offered rank to the various heads of missions in China. This again was the outcome of diplomatic pressure, and not a sign of liberality. The English and American Episcopal Church bishops, and the men of other missions, after careful consideration, declined the offer. The Roman Catholics accepted it.

It does not take the canny Chinaman long to see and to seize an opportunity of material advantage wherein he may get ahead of his neighbors. Small wonder that the ranks of converts were unnaturally swelled. Many men who wished to settle old grudges or to attain certain settlements in law unfavorable to their opponents joined the Roman Catholic Church and obtained their desires from this vantage point. It must not be considered that the priests have been lacking in conscientiousness. It is generally their zeal for the Faith which has led them to make mistakes, and too often they have failed to investigate whether the supposed convert whom they were helping was in the right or the wrong. It will be seen, however, that here is injustice which the Chinese might naturally resent, albeit it is only of a new variety—hardly of a different nature—from that to which they have always been accustomed.

The incipient society was especially directed against the Roman Catholics and the injustice for which they were responsible, but as they grow more and more fanatical, less distinction is being made between the various bodies of Christians, and at the present moment all are more or less in danger. Nor have the "Boxers" thus far confined themselves to threats. Every day rumors and definite news of outbreaks, violence, and murder in the country districts are brought to Peking, and the capital itself is now infected by the prevailing fanaticism. The greatest danger is, perhaps, in Pao-ting-fu, the capital of the province. Here two thousand Chinese have recently entered the Roman Catholic fold by the quick conversion process, which has behind it the ulterior motive just alluded to.

At Tung Cho, twenty-five miles from Pao-ting-fu, there is a Protestant chapel. The other day, while a missionary was there holding service, the "Boxers" tore the sign off the building, which they threatened to destroy. An official arrived, but did nothing. One of the most respectable Chinese in the town finally stood up and attempted to say a good word for the missionary. He was beaten with pieces of the sign and left for dead in the street; the missionary himself finally took refuge on the roof till the mob dispersed. In other places numbers of the Roman converts have been killed and the churches destroyed. To-day there is the news that at Tsihshiu, at a distance of seventy ri (about one hundred and seventy miles) from Peking, the mob killed thirteen native Roman Catholics and destroyed all of their village. A large number of the rioters have come to Peking.

The country is filled with refugees who are hastening away from threatened districts with their household goods in carts. The inns refuse to take them in, being in fear of the vengeance of the "Boxers." Near Pao-ting-fu there are two villages five miles apart, one held by "Boxers," the other by Roman Catholics who have some arms and have fortified themselves. In many places they are making a more or less organized resistance, which the greatness of their numbers often justifies them in doing.

There has been a drought in North China for nine months during which there has been but one rain. A terrible famine is threatened. This state of affairs the "Boxers" lay at the door of foreigners in general, so that all will soon be included in their hatred, and no distinction will be made.

It is quite interesting to ascertain what the Chinese Government is doing in this crisis to protect the foreign residents within its domain. The Dowager sees to it that there are a sufficient number of proclamations against the rioters posted in conspicuous places on city gates, and then she is credited with quietly "tipping them the wink" to proceed. She would like, indeed, to make the "Boxers" a catspaw for getting rid of the foreigners, or, at least, a number of them. Afterwards she will be quite willing to inflict punishment upon the murderers, and to

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call the attention of all the world to her terrible proclamations. While some of the Governors encourage the fanatics, there are others who boldly oppose them. The "Boxers" claim that after they have joined the society, and have whirled like dervishes till they have gotten into a trance, they are invulnerable. A young "Boxer," making this statement to a certain Governor, was taken at his word, and shot as an example. The Governor naturally asked where the invulnerability came in. The young man's father stepped forward, and said that his son had not been a "Boxer" for a sufficient length of time, and begged the Governor to try again on him. But the Governor refused to sacrifice another life. A well-known Chinese General, who is now the Governor of Shangtung, cut off another "Boxer's" head, and in several places officials have made threats against them.

Concerning the missionaries themselves, who, next to native converts, are most in danger, they bear the suspense with the utmost cheerfulness and calmness, going about their work as usual, though large numbers of their people have been frightened away. To one who has never been to China, or who is not familiar with the history of other horrors perpetrated by fanantical Chinese against foreigners, and missionaries in particular, the danger may not seem appalling. But it is a fact that those people from foreign countries who are living and working in certain parts of North China at the present time are daily in danger of their lives.

It is just possible that because of their continued murder of innocent Chinese the "Boxers" may feel the vengeance of the Chinese law with its clogged wheels before they are led to carry their "righteousness" to any greater lengths. The Dowager Empress could nip the whole movement in the bud with a few vigorous measures, for I believe the valor of the "Boxers" to be of that order which does not thrive before a determined resistance. A number of arrests and a few decapitations of ringleaders might considerably lessen the force of that "righteous fist," and the ancient society be made again only a latent force in the Chinese Empire.

American Workingmen and Religion

By Samuel M. Jones [1]

THE religious condition of workingmen and of all other men is practically the same. Society is a unit. Man is asocial being, and the fact that one is asked to write under a title such as forms the head of this article is one of the evidences that we are not yet free from the most deadly form of skepticism—that is, unbelief in one's fellows, the evidence of the unbelief being manifest in the suggestiveness of the title indicating that the idea that men can be dealt with as classes has not yet disappeared from the public mind. I do not accept the class idea at all. In my own life I have been a workingman, a superintendent, a business man, a manufacturer, and a mayor, and in all of these various relations to society I cannot see that I was anything other than a *man*, always, to a very great extent, moved by the same impulses, inspired by the same hopes and ambitions, and subject to the same disappointments, failures, and conflicting emotions.

The very idea that we must deal with people as classes, in addition to being irreligious, skeptical, and atheistic, is misleading, confusing, and almost an absolute hindrance to one's usefulness as a factor in the educational work that is carrying the race forward to larger liberty.

The religious condition of the workingmen in America must, of necessity, be the reflex of the religious condition of the business men and the professional men, or the men who do not work. If anything can be said to be *social* rather than individual, it must be our religion, for there is no way in which our religion can find expression except in social relation; for "if a man love not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?" It follows, then, that my religious condition will be reflected in the condition of those most closely related

[1] Our readers will find in the issue of The Outlook for May 6, 1899, an interesting article on "Mayor Jones of Toledo," written by Dr. Washington Gladden.

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to me; under the existing capitalistic system, these are the workingmen, commonly called my employees, upon the fruit of whose toil I may be living an entirely idle and wholly useless life; to such an extent as I am so living, my life is an immoral one. I am not eating my bread in the sweat of my face, but rather I am eating bread produced by the sweat of another man's face, and that other man my brother. And it is as certain that the immorality which I am practicing by using my fellow-men as mere instruments to gather profit will be reflected in their lives, as the virus of small-pox is certain to show itself when injected into the human body.

I have said that I have been unconscious of being anything but a *man* in the various conditions of life through which I have passed, and I know that I get closer to the God in my fellow-men when I meet them, treat them and deal with them as equals, as integral parts of a social whole, as *people*, than I could possibly get by, as it were, putting them under a microscope and studying them as classes or as representatives of a class.

So, to those who want to improve the religious condition of the workingmen of America, I think I can safely say, First "remove the beam from thine own eye, then shalt thou see clearly to remove the mote from the eye of thy brother." As the God in us finds opportunity for more perfect expression through more and more just dealing with our fellow-men, our eyes will be opened and we shall see our fellow-men, not as classes or separate and distinct individuals, the highest duty according to prevailing notions being material interest, being the getting of things, property, for himself, but we shall look upon society as a human whole, and we shall find our chief joy and delight in doing as a *duty* our utmost to contribute to the happiness of the whole social body. Such a title as the one under which this article is written will have fallen into disuse, the term workingmen will have become obsolete, for when all are religious then all will work, for nothing can be more irreligious than to live an idle and useless life; every one that so lives, every one that does not render to society useful service, is living a useless life and living upon the toil of some other one.

We reach the conclusion, then, stated in the form of a proposition in the beginning of this article, that the religious condition of the workingmen is the religious condition of all men, and we understand more clearly than before that "no man liveth to himself." Of course I have not used the word religious in any narrow sense; I have rather used it as including all that is best in man. In the narrow or technical sense, I presume the business and professional classes are more religious than the workingmen; that is, that in larger proportion they are church members and attend the "means of grace," and so on. But the church itself, no longer deceived, is coming to see that there is a difference between Pharisaism and religion, that there is no real difference between love to God and love to man, and that the only way of expressing one's love to God is in one's dealings with men. And I believe that, in the evolutionary processes that now distinctively mark this present epoch, we can see the transformation that is taking place inside the Church, that will one day lead the Church to take the high place that must be held by some form of institution, whether you call it "hall of reason" or church or what not, where men and women will gather together and dismiss their cares and "shake their hearts out together," as the Germans say, in fellowship one with another. When those better days come, we shall see days that are less strifeful, for we shall have learned that "life consisteth not in things," but rather in being, in doing, in giving, instead of in getting.

The one hopeful sign of the times that bids us all take courage is seen in the growth of the religious sentiment—I mean the sure-enough *religious* as separated from the pietistic notion—for, in the best sense of the word, the movement for social reform is a religious movement. The growth of the idea of the unity of the entire race is full of encouragement to all lovers of righteousness. No one can be truly religious who does not accept this important fundamental, for the thought of oneness is as scientific as it is religious. If God is All-Father, then "it follows, as the night the day," that all mankind are brothers. This lesson is being taught in many ways. The true spirit of Socialism, that has grown so marvelously in our

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country during the last few years, is the spirit of brotherhood, is religious; and while there are many advocates of Socialism who are yet teaching according to the narrow conceptions of individualism, as it finds expression in the party idea in our politics, yet I believe that the day is not far distant when all will see that this teaching must give way to the logical interpretation of the broad principle towards the realization of which humanity is progressing. Socialism is growing among all so-called classes—perhaps among workingmen faster than anywhere else.

The complaint of the party Socialists is directed wholly against the competitive system; and the competitive system is, of course, a system of warfare. We can easily see that competition is wrong, in economics, in material things; that the system can never bring peace to the world; that it means the survival of the strongest; in short, as has been many times said, competition is war. The awakening of the social conscience and the religious impulse within us will bring us to see that, if competition is wrong anywhere, then the competitive principle must be wrong everywhere. But we are not led to see this great truth by the appeals that are made to our material interests, but only as the appeal comes to the religious instinct—that is, to the idea of brotherhood and duty. All will admit that natural brothers ought not to fight either for trade, advantage, through the methods of business, or for any other advantage by the fiercer methods of warfare. The competitive spirit is the spirit of murder, and it is evident to observing persons that the workers of the world must lead in spreading this great truth. Jesus has told us that a knowledge of the truth will make us free; and to me there is something like pathos in the thought that there is absolutely no other way for the soul to realize freedom except through a knowledge of the truth. But there is no cross-lots or short-cut way. "Ye must be born again" is as literally true to-day as when Jesus uttered the words. There is no middle ground. The scientific principle must rule, and does rule, else there is no hope in the world. Love is the only basis upon which we can hope to build an enduring State or secure any sort of permanent social order. The race is struggling as never before to realize this truth in all of its wonderful depth of meaning. We see it in the great growth of fraternal organizations that have characterized the history of the last few years; we see it in the great trade-union movement that has fraternized and co-ordinated great bodies of workingmen; we see it in the countless number of societies, clubs, lodges, institutions, and brotherhoods that are springing up all over the world. In the narrower sense these movements are individualistic, but in the broader and deeper sense they are social and religious. It is an expression of the longing for brotherhood, for fellowship; and this awakened social conscience is the very force that will produce the enlightened intellect that will lead these numberless organizations to see and to understand the folly of the unbrotherly method, and lead them finally into one grand Brotherhood—the good of all being the music that shall sing the world to its work.

We know that by and by a brighter day will come,
When hate and strife shall die, and each man own his home;
When mine and thine are ours, and every law is good,
And all are pure as flowers in one grand Brotherhood.

I am satisfied that "all things work together for good to them that love God"—that is, to them that love the good. And blessed are we that our eyes see this day, the day of hope and good cheer that none of the epochs of the past have seen; for we are in the beginning of a movement that is finally to culminate in a great revival of real religion that shall exclude none, include all, and that shall open the eyes of our understanding to the real meaning of the life and words of Christ, whom we profess to love, and that will be the beginning of the kingdom of heaven on earth.

Toledo, O.

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An Embodied Conscience

By Ethelwyn Wetherald

EXCESSIVE wrath turns some men to fire, others to ice; others it seems to set temporarily insane. Corlick Evans belonged to the last class. When he arrived home from market one Saturday and found Laban Wing's young bull trampling down his beautiful field of corn for the third time, he unhesitatingly went to the old sleigh-box, where a rifle reposed among several seldom-used tools, loaded it, went out to the field, took deliberate aim, and shot the animal dead. Then he returned to the house, whence the sound of a dinner-horn was issuing, and soused his red head in a tin basin of cold water, on the wash-bench outside the kitchen door.

"What you been shootin', Corlick?" asked his wife, as she placed the roast pork and potatoes on the table.

"Oh, nothin' of any account," he replied, with affected indifference; "only Laban Wing's bull."

"Why, Corlick Evans!" she cried.

"He'll hev the law on ye, Corlick," said his father, who lived with the young pair; "mark my words, he'll hev the law on ye."

"Nonsense, father!" spoke up Corlick, with full-voiced decision. "Quakers don't go to law."

"Why don't they?" inquired Mrs. Evans.

"'Cause they're scared if they do they'll get the worst of it, I s'pose," said Corlick with a great laugh.

"Well, you'll see he won't let you off," declared the young wife; "he'll come over here with a horsewhip."

"Well, I guess he won't. I'd respect him if he did, but there's no more fight in him than there is in a pet lamb. No, I'll tell you what he'll do. He'll put on his second best fourth-day meeting coat, and come over here and *admonish* me—point out the error of my ways, you know." Corlick laughed again, but the laugh ended in a snarl of derision and contempt. "Ugh, he makes me sick!"

Old Mr. Evans made an uneasy movement in his chair. "Mind you, Corlick," he said deprecatingly, "I don't think you're in the right of it."

The young man's swaggering audacity suffered perceptible diminution. He had a genuine affection for the sickly old man, who had been father and mother to him during most of his life, and he could not endure a word of protest from him. "Now, look here, father," he said in a strong, clear voice, his blue eyes fixed unflinchingly on his father's face, "the thing has been perfectly fair and square from first to last—perfectly fair and square. The first time that the breachy bull jumped into my corn I gave him fair warnin'. I said, 'You keep your bull off my premises or I'll shoot him.' Then he fastened him into a ramshackle old shed. Might have knowed he'd break the door down, which he did right straight off, and plunged direct into my corn again. I was pretty mad, but I held it in, and warned him again. I said, 'The next time your bull gets into my corn he'll be shot dead.' I spoke up good and loud. He couldn't help but hear, and he knew I always keep my word. Then he took a rope and tied him to a tree. The tree was stronger than the bull, but the rope wasn't. I had nothing to do with that. My part of the contract was to keep my word. And I did."

The old man said nothing more.

Over on the next farm Laban Wing was busy skinning the dead animal. When he had finished he changed his soiled garments, put his straw hat very firmly on his head, and went to see Corlick Evans. That young man was lazily chewing a toothpick on his front porch when his visitor's sober-hued figure and unemotional face obtruded themselves on his vision.

Laban halted in front of the house, his face and voice stern, but quiet and unconstrained. "Thee shot my bull," he said.

"Confound your impudence!" roared Corlick, with a volley of abuse so vile that even a less unworldly ear than Laban's might have shrunk away from it. "Get out of my sight," he shouted, "and if you ever dare——"

But the Quaker youth was already pursuing his calm way homeward along the country road.

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One warm September evening Corlick Evans came out of the village store with a can of kerosene in one hand and a basket of groceries in the other, and started on his two-mile walk home. Across the dusty road another figure kept equal pace with him. This figure was tall and thin, with the head thrust slightly forward, the eyes on the ground. When Corlick hurried his steps it took long strides; when he sauntered, it delayed. A tempest of irritation gathered in Corlick's heart. He could order his enemy off his premises, but he could not order him off the highroad. Unable to endure this haunting presence any longer, he dropped his burdens on the grassy wayside, leaned his back defiantly against the fence and glared across at his foe.

"Well," he demanded harshly, "what have you got to say to me?"

"Thee shot my bull," said Laban.

With a groan of mingled disgust and despair, Corlick seized his can and basket and hurried homeward. The tall figure still kept step with him. About them the deepening twilight held the sadness of departing summer. The road was very still. No carriage or pedestrian passed them. Corlick had a lively imagination. He felt himself a lost spirit, drifting into deeper and deeper gulfs of night, with one stern accusing presence forever following him. Was a mile or two of country road ever so endless before? In his eagerness to push the gate that opened into his lane he dropped the topmost parcel from his basket. Laban gravely replaced it, and went on to his own home without a word; but all along the darkening lane Corlick seemed to hear a voice that said, "Thee shot my bull, thee shot my bull."

Later that evening, as he was "doing the chores" at the barn, sudden remorse took hold of Corlick Evans. "Why, what an infernal fool I am!" he exclaimed, setting his lantern down. "Why didn't I swear at him? That would have scared him off home in no time. I don't know what possessed me to act so tongue-tied and queer. He'll think I'm afraid of him."

Their next meeting took place during the fall plowing. The end of the furrow took Corlick close to the roadway fence, and glancing down to the corner of his farm, he recognized Laban making his way toward him. Corlick quickly turned his horses, and plowed down to the other end of the cultivated ground, which was not far from the farm outbuildings. There he let his horses stand, while he went to the barn and took two or three deliberate drinks of cider. "I ain't afraid of no man," he assured himself, "but it's just as well to let that lunatic get past before I make another round." Twenty minutes later he approached the roadside fence again. Laban, who had been patiently waiting on the top rail, stepped down and confronted him.

"Thee shot my bull," he said.

Here was the golden opportunity for Corlick to utter the frightful language which was to horrify the Quaker boy into immediate flight. The superstitious awe of gathering darkness and following footsteps could not daunt his resolution now. It was nearly noon of a bright day. A light wagon rattled down the side road, and a heavy one rumbled after it. But somehow Corlick could not laugh, he could not rage, he could not curse. "What in perdition is the matter with me?" he queried inwardly. Aloud he shouted at his horses: "Get up, Jinny! G'long, Dick." He tried to believe that he had simply ignored Laban, which was perhaps the most dignified thing to do. But in his heart he knew that he had quailed before those steadfast eyes.

In the following winter old Mr. Evans was taken very ill, and the young Quaker and his mother found opportunity for many neighborly kindnesses, which increased Corlick's sense of bitterness. "Confound him," he muttered, "if I had shot him instead of his bull I might have had some peace of my life."

After his father's death Corlick hardened his heart anew. It had been several months since he had heard that unpleasant reminder from Laban's lips, and it seemed probable that he would never hear it again. But one day, as he was arranging a scarecrow in his corn-field, he saw his neighbor getting over the fence and coming leisurely toward him. There rose in Corlick's heart first a passionate resentment, then a dogged resistance, then impotent despair. The thing affected him physically. He had been weak and ailing since his father's death, and now, with this unreasoning dread in his mind, his knees seemed turning to water. His face

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was white as he turned it to Laban, and the Quaker's voice was almost tender.

"Thee shot my bull," he said.

"I know it," said Corlick. "What do you want for it?"

"Forty dollars," said Laban.

"The money is up at the house. Come this way."

Silently they walked side by side. The house was quiet, for Mrs. Evans had gone to the village. Laban sat down in the little sitting room, and Corlick, after he had brought a flat tin box from the drawer in the bookcase, sat down beside him. The box was painted green, and was fastened by means of a padlock. Corlick unlocked it, removed his father's will and other valuable papers, and then took from a worn wallet at the bottom of the box the required sum, and without looking at Laban handed it to him.

"Thank thee," said Laban.

There seemed nothing more to be said. The visitor walked slowly to the door, and lingered there a moment. Corlick's head and fallen eyelids were drooping lower and lower over the table. His big fingers trembled as they replaced the will in the box so closely associated with his dead father's presence. His heart swelled tumultuously. Perhaps the old man knew of this. If so he would be pleased. Suddenly he looked up at his departing guest, whose eyes were full on him.

"Peace be with thee," said Laban.

"Look here," cried Corlick, springing to his feet with a sense of unspeakable relief, "I'd like to shake hands with you."

They grasped each other's hands strenuously, and the peace that Laban had invoked abode with them.

The Nineteenth Century in Europe[1]

I.

SEVEN important historical publications have lately appeared, all bearing upon the same epoch—the nineteenth century in Europe. Two of these have to do exclusively with one of the three most important events of that century on that continent, namely, the Napoleonic wars, two with the second, the unity of Italy, and two with the third, the unity of Germany. The seventh sums up in compact compass the century's history. At any time it would be interesting to read any one of these works; their almost simultaneous publication gives an added zest to their comparative study.

The nineteenth century opened with the Peace of Lunéville, leaving the vast European stage cleared of combatants other than England and France. From that event to present happenings, the author of what is often considered the best short history of Greece gives us a clear and admirably condensed statement. His book commands general attention, and will receive it; it should also find favor as a text-book. From "England in the Nineteenth Century" the reader will gain, not indeed any great addition to his stock of dates and subjects, but some addition of breadth and balance in taking a survey of the century's history. Mr. Oman's style is not picturesque perhaps, but his summaries are models of conciseness in which the salient facts stand out clearly. For instance, speaking of the influence on England of the Napoleonic wars, he says:

> Few men had watched the atrocities of the French Revolution, or lived through the long period of suspense in 1802–1805, when foreign invasion was daily expected, without taking a profound impression from those times of storm and stress. In the eighteenth century we often hear complaints of the want of patriotism and public spirit in Great Britain; no such reproach could be made to the generation which had fought through the great French war. The slackness and cynicism of the eighteenth century had been completely lived down. Political morality had been enormously improved; in the later years of the war Whig and Tory had learnt to work together

[1] *England in the Nineteenth Century.* By C. W. Oman. Longmans, Green & Co., New York. $1.25.
How England Saved Europe. By W. H. Fitchett, B.A., LL.D. Four volumes. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $8.
A History of Italian Unity. Being a Political History of Italy from 1814 to 1871. By Bolton King, M.A. Two volumes. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $7.50.
Modern Italy, 1748–1898. By Pietro Orsi. Translated by Mary Alice Vialls. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $1.50.
Bismarck and the Foundation of the German Empire. By Wycliffe Headlam. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $1.50.
The Life of Prince Otto von Bismarck. By Frank Preston Stearns. J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia, Pa. $3.50.
The Story of the Nineteenth Century. By Elbridge S. Brooks. Lothrop Publishing Co., Boston. $1.50.

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for the common national good, despite mere party interests. In 1806-7 a Tory majority had accepted a Whig Ministry, because it seemed for the moment desirable; in the following years the Whigs had refrained from captious opposition to the later Tory Cabinets —though, of course, they had not ceased to criticise their measures. There were none of the selfish and immoral combinations of cliques and groups which used to disgrace the eighteenth century. Parliamentary corruption of the bad old sort—the buying of members by hard cash or gifts of sinecures—had practically disappeared. Statesmen suspected of a want of private integrity could no longer come to the front.

The improved standard of political morals only reflected the general rise in the social morality of the nation. There was a growing feeling against drunkenness, foul language, gambling, and open profligacy, which had been looked upon with such a tolerant eye thirty years before. Nothing shows it better than the deep unpopularity of the Regent, George, Prince of Wales, who carried far into the nineteenth century the evil manners of the eighteenth. The contempt and dislike felt for him by the majority of the nation would never have been felt to such an extent by the older generation.

The revival of religious earnestness, which had begun with Wesley and the Methodists, was enormously developed by the influence of the war. The blasphemous antics of the French Revolutionists had shocked thousands of Englishmen into a more serious view of life, and twenty years of national peril had put flippancy at a discount. Prominent men who made no secret of their earnest religious convictions were no longer liable to be sneered at as enthusiasts or condemned as fanatics. All through the period the Low Church or Evangelical party was working hard and gaining an increasing hold on the nation. The religious indifferentism of the eighteenth century had disappeared.

In taking up Dr. Fitchett's four volumes on "How England Saved Europe," the last public words of Pitt come to mind: "England has saved herself by her exertions, and will, I trust, save Europe by her example." The volumes, of course, discuss the wars which England fought with revolutionary and imperial France, saving Europe from an ambition as selfish as any which has ever oppressed mankind. In the service of that ambition, as the historian points out, Napoleon was able to employ a great, proud, and gallant nation, as a perfect swordsman would use his weapon. The struggle with France has no parallel since the wars with Hannibal. England alone had been able to resist the revolution. England would save Europe from the revolution's master. Dr. Fitchett's work impressively shows the immense debt which Europe owes to England, its savior throughout the Napoleonic wars, begun at Vicogne, only ten miles from the Waterloo where they ended. What an Iliad of adventures, sieges, battles intervene between Vicogne and Waterloo!

In strict adherence to the scope of his work, as indicated by its title, our author does well not to enter upon a narration of England's political history or of Napoleon's Continental wars, save as they form the background of the picture. He has also cleverly grouped the conflict into distinct periods, and has made of each period a complete story. It is an entertaining story; the author shows facility in the choice of characteristic scenes and his anecdotes are unforgettable; for instance:

It was on this occasion, Wellington used to say, that his face saved his life. In the early dawn, with a couple of officers, he got into a small boat and rowed over to ascertain how Beresford was faring. An Irish sentry covered the boat with his musket as it approached. Both Wellington and his companions had forgotten the countersign, and the soldier was on the point of firing. Looking along his musket barrel, however, in the act of taking aim, he recognized Wellington, and brought his musket to the salute, crying, "God bless your crooked nose; I would sooner see it than tin thousand men!" Wellington used to say that was the greatest compliment ever paid him.

Dr. Fitchett's work has three sterling merits; it is clear, comprehensive, picturesque. Special emphasis should be put on the last-named quality, for to his description of history Dr. Fitchett brings a vivid and spirited style. Its dramatic impulse carries the reader along, even past such slight snags as the divergences from the reader's own opinion of the causes of special events, and from the opinion of such diverse historians as Thiers, Lanfrey, Sloane, and Mahan, for instance. We have seen how Mr. Oman sums up the moral effect of the Napoleonic era on England. Dr. Fitchett thus sums up the effect on France:

On June 23 Napoleon took up his abode at Malmaison, the house that had been the residence of Josephine, and so was full of bitter memories for the fallen Emperor. Here he spent some restless, agitated days, in a sort of waking dream—a dream haunted by anguished recollections and perplexed by frantic schemes. Events moved on without him; he had no party and no friends. "Fifteen years of his reign as Consul and Emperor," says Hooper, "had demoralized the whole realm." Every man mistrusted his neighbor. Patriotism was almost extinct. French politics under Napo-

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leon had known only one principle, the worship of force, and in the hour of his defeat Napoleon, on his own principles, was justly abandoned. He represented failure, and for failure, in the Napoleonic ethics, there was neither pity nor loyalty. When the Allies actually entered Paris, an officer of Picton's division reports encountering an agitated Parisian who cried, "Vive le plus fort;" and, ready for every emergency, wore a two-faced cockade, white on one side and tricolor on the other. This was the type of Frenchman Napoleon himself had evolved!

II.

Napoleon's real constructive work, however, was not found in the wars which constitute the first of the three great events of the century in Europe. That work was valueless in comparison with the two succeeding movements indirectly inspired by him—the unification of Italy and of Germany. For a time, it is true, the revolution resulted in a brutal imperialism, but on the other side of the Alps, and on the other side of the Rhine, popular imagination was fired to something nobler—a liberal nationalism. This was due to Napoleon, who had drawn first the various Italian States and then the various German States into a knowledge of one another by the necessity for mutual protection, and then to the necessity for closer interstate relations, commercial and social. In their histories, Mr. King and Signor Orsi show how, in the upheavals and reconstructions of the French Revolution and of Napoleon's rule, the roots of Italian unity are to be found. After the fall of Napoleon at the Congress of Vienna, the principal tasks were to reorganize Italy and Germany. At that time, in the former country, the dream of unity seemingly existed more than it did in Germany, and it persisted with a peculiarly noble inspiration, even under Austrian predominance and repression. Even as early as 1820, revolutionary sparks began to fly in Piedmont and Naples, and then, of course, more rapidly, stimulated by the decade of reaction which followed. While in his "Modern Italy" (the latest addition to that admirable series, "The Story of the Nations") Signor Orsi describes, not only the nineteenth, but half of the eighteenth century, nine-tenths of the volume is naturally devoted to the events in Italy of the past hundred years, and especially to that one event embracing all the others, Italian liberation and unity. Some time ago Countess Evelyn Cesaresco published a capital volume on this subject. If rather lacking her lambent Latin color and glow of style, Mr. Bolton King's two stout volumes on "The History of Italian Unity" constitute a soberer and more scientific as well as a larger and more ambitious study than has been given to us in either of the above-mentioned histories. Mr. King's volumes cover the same period as does the Cesaresco history—namely, from Elba to Porta Pia, from 1814 to 1871. The author binds himself closely to his own field of political history, social and religious events, and the movements in art and science are treated only when they touch politics. Italian unification, the second great event in the nineteenth century in Europe, is presented to us by Mr. King and by Signor Orsi, with Mazzini standing out a chief figure in the earlier stages. Stirred by Mazzini's trumpet-tones the Italian conscience awoke, and the result was the granting of constitutions in democratized Italian States. But Mazzini's republic at Rome goes down before France, and Manin's republic at Venice before Austria. For a decade there is an apparent silence, then Cavour and Victor Emmanuel and Garibaldi and Ricasoli are fired to a more practical nationalism, and the wars of 1859–60 end in the proclamation of the Kingdom of Italy. Later events, such as the annexation of Venetia and the occupation of Rome, were after-climaxes, though necessary logical conclusions. All these events are presented to us by the Professor of History at Venice in language as terse as it is graphic, with an Italian fulness of sound; by Mr. King in a perhaps more dignified, yet not less forceful style. The latter outdistances the former in skillful character-analysis, especially in discussing the career of Cavour, more than any other, the founder and welder of United Italy. In his case, as in those of Ricasoli, Mazzini and Garibaldi, the genuinely heroic is carefully distinguished from that which was mere heedless impulse or obstinacy. Mr. King's is a long, Signor Orsi's a short history, but both historians leave us with an impression, the production of which ought to be the aim of all writers—an impression of reserved power. As has already been hinted in regard

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to Dr. Fitchett's work, it may also be said of these histories of Italy that their writers have well understood how to group diverse elements into a notably harmonious whole; their sense of perspective and proportion is acute and apparently unerring. When to this is added a luminous discourse, the volumes become those which appeal (in varying degree, it is true) even to that very ordinary man, whose knowledge of the Italian revolution, avers Mr. King, is summed up in the belief that it had something to do with Garibaldi and a red shirt.

III.

If the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars inspired the impulses which led to the unity of Italy and perhaps to the unity of Germany, and if, half a century later, France helped Italy, let us not forget that early in the century England inspired some impulse toward German unity. England it was which organized and fed the German army and brought about victory over France where there had hitherto been only constant defeat. In 1815, Germany emerged from the Congress of Vienna, divided into thirty-nine little States, but in 1815 was born the man who was to weld them into one. Society was then organized on the old patriarchal basis; at the bottom was the peasant; above him was the gnädige Herr; above him Unser Allergnädigste Herr, the King, who lived in Berlin or Munich or Dresden; and above him, the Herr Gott in Heaven. The statesman who was born in 1815 brought about the third great event of the nineteenth century in Europe, the unification of Germany. Though an aristocrat, he changed a multitude of little States, as Italy had been changed, by the spirit of nationalism, through centralization, towards democracy. With this estimate, who can be uninterested in Bismarck's career —a career which covers all but a few years of the nineteenth century? In appreciating his life and work, readers have hitherto had recourse to Mr. Lowe's excellent biography and to Sybel's great history. Then came Dr. Busch's voluminous sketches, the value of which has been somewhat exaggerated, and finally, Bismarck's own memoirs, the value of which has been by no means exaggerated to any one who would understand the Chancellor's exact attitude toward various principles and persons, no matter how unsatisfactory the memoirs are as biography. Since their appearance, two lives of Bismarck have been noticed in these columns, those by M. Andler and by Mr. Jacks. Two other biographies have now appeared, and challenge equal, if not greater, attention. Mr. Headlam's is the soberer, Mr. Stearns's the more vivacious. Yet Mr. Headlam's book is by no means unpicturesque. He writes with an apparently increasing grasp of subject from Bismarck's early life up to the revolution of 1848, which finally gained a constitution for Prussia; through the stormy Reichstag days at Frankfort, to the decisive conflict of 1862–3 when the King of Prussia faced the whole nation, and when, with the exception of the Upper House of the Reichstag, Bismarck had no friends or supporters. The history of the wars with Denmark, Austria, and France is well told, but what is better told is the history of the formation of the North German Federation in 1867, of the foundation of the German Empire in 1871, and of the developments of that empire since then. Mr. Headlam does full justice to the empire-founder, not only as ostensibly the servant of the monarch, but, when necessary, according to the ideas of the now "old school," as independent of that monarch. In these latter days, when an impulsive young Emperor ventured to discuss questions of administration with Bismarck's colleagues, without informing Bismarck himself, the Iron Chancellor, responsible by the Constitution for all acts of the Ministers and Secretaries of State (they hold office as his deputies and subordinates), had no alternative but to resign. William II. found that there had been some consultation at Bismarck's house. Fearing intrigue and that the fallen Chancellor might regain his position by an alliance with the Parliamentary opposition, the Kaiser drove at dawn to Bismarck's house, summoned him from bed, and asked who had been his guests on the previous evening. The veteran Minister thundered that he would brook no supervision over the guests whom he chose to receive in his private house. "Not if I order it as your sovereign?" asked the Emperor. "No! My Emperor's commands cease in my wife's drawing-room!"

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In his remarkably exact characterization of Bismarck, Mr. Stearns well says that if the statesman's peculiar ability were to be described in one word, the word would be "comprehensiveness"—the faculty of grasping the largest number of facts at any one time. "The extent of his knowledge was enormous, and it always seemed to be available at the moment when he required it." Again, as this biographer declares, Bismarck could always reckon how he would act under certain conditions. "He knew just how far human nature could be trusted." Given these qualities, we have the necessary combination to insure the success of the third great movement of the nineteenth century in Europe—German unification, the welding together of many small States into one great fatherland. Another cause of the success of this unity was Bismarck's freedom from political theories—theories which had stood in the way of the work of Mazzini in bringing about Italian unity. It is a peculiarity of doctrinaires, thinks Mr. Stearns, to care more for their theories than they do for the good which those theories are expected to accomplish. "If the world is to be saved, it must be saved according to their method and not according to any other; otherwise they would prefer to have it blown up altogether." No mere doctrinaire could have succeeded in unifying Germany as a whole or in establishing particular laws for the welfare of Germany when unified—such as the Government Insurance Fund, for instance—a fund for the benefit of workingmen who might become disabled through accident, ill health, or old age, one of Bismarck's grandest measures, and, as his biographer justly observes, sufficient in itself to give any man distinction.

> Certainly it was a gigantic undertaking, for the requisite funds would have to be counted, not by millions but by hundreds of millions. The whole community would have to be taxed for its support, but he considered it only right that the nation should be taxed liberally for the benefit of its humble poor, who really form the foundation on which the whole fabric of society rests. . . . The Laborers' Relief Bill failed to pass the Reichstag, owing to the combination of the very parties who, if they had been consistent, would have given it unqualified support—that is, the Liberals, Progressists, and Social Democrats. . . . Bismarck was the first to make the practical application, and should receive credit for it. The supplement of a government pawnbrokerage business was an admirable device, as it cut the ground from under the feet of the Jews, thus helping also to allay the Semitic agitation. . . . He patiently waited his time, and this rejected measure has since become the corner-stone of the present German system of charitable organizations, which may challenge all other countries to show its equal. A late writer in the New York "Outlook" says: "Beyond all question, the care of the poor and distressed in the cities of Germany is superbly managed. Of course, there is in every city a general department of poor relief with its specialists and general advisers, but there is also a system of local committees which assist in the work. No man in Germany would think of declining to serve on the committee. But it is the German ideal at least to abolish poverty. Germans think the present policy of the government will ultimately lead to it. For this reason they have inaugurated a system of municipal insurance against sickness, loss of employment, and old age."

To the serious student, a rapid survey of the movements, described in greater detail in the other volumes, is given in Mr. Brooks's "Story of the Nineteenth Century." It addresses itself especially to young readers, and is a model of what popular history should be. In colloquial language the author describes the march of progress, not as one of great monotonous movement, but as one out of which stand colossal figures clearly outlined; such figures as those of a Napoleon, a Cavour, a Bismarck, the most salient personalities marking the three great events of the century in Europe.

Summing up the resultant impressions from all these volumes, they may be stated in a sentence thus: The political history of the nineteenth century is the history of the struggle of nationality toward definite self-expression. The Napoleonic wars shattered the old Roman imperialism in all Europe east of Russia, and the Napoleonic imperialism which followed fell because it had no historic or sure foundation. Out of the ruins of the old imperialism a new and democratic organization has been reared in various stages of development in Italy, France, Germany, and, though in inadequate measure and only in crude beginnings, even in Austria and Spain; and therewith, what is of no less value, a definite and far-reaching social-democratic evolution.

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Books of the Week

This report of current literature is supplemented by fuller reviews of such books as in the judgment of the editors are of special importance to our readers. The absence of comment in this department in many cases indicates that extended review will be made at a later date. Any of these books will be sent by the publishers of The Outlook, postpaid, to any address on receipt of the published price.

Bellum Catilinæ, The. By C. Sallustius Crispus. Introduction and Vocabulary by Charles George Herbermann, Ph.D., LL.D. Benjamin H. Sanborn & Co., Boston. 4¾×6¾ in. 192 pages. $1.

China: The Long-Lived Empire. By Eliza Ruhamah Scidmore. Illustrated. The Century Co., New York. 5¼×8 in. 466 pages. $2.50.

Christ of Cynewulf. Translated into English prose by Charles Huntington Whitman. Ginn & Co., Boston. 4¾×7¼ in. 62 pages.

Mr. Whitman here brings another Anglo-Saxon poem within the reach of the student not versed in the older form of our language. It is designed for use in connection with Professor Cook's recently published edition of the "Christ," and, therefore, contains no introductory account of the poet and his work. As a translation it is admirable, giving, without the use of archaic forms, the spirit of the Anglo-Saxon original.

European Travel for Women. Notes and Suggestions. By Mary Cadwalader Jones. The Macmillan Co., New York. 4¾×6¾ in. 301 pages. $1.50.

A sensible and timely book which will be of great service to the increasing number of American women who are compelled to travel in Europe without the escort or aid of men. In this volume a woman of experience and observation who knows the field thoroughly puts in the way of women who do not know the field and who have not had the experience such facts about the habits of life in Europe, methods of travel, and the ways of hotels and boarding-houses as are essential for the comfort, the convenience, and the economy of American travelers. The book goes sufficiently into detail to give information about points which it is well to know in advance, but upon which the guide-books do not, as a rule, throw any light.

Friend of Cæsar, A. By William Stearns Davis. The Macmillan Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 501 pages. $1.50.

The multiplication of German novels about Greek and Roman life has tended to induce in the general reader the feeling that books of fiction dealing with classic times are apt to put archæology ahead of humanity, to aim at accurate scholarship rather than dramatic vigor. It is the great merit of "A Friend of Cæsar" that it tells a story alive with human interest, aglow with passion, brilliant with quick-moving action, abounding in vividly told incident. The author bears in mind throughout the purpose, expressed in his preface, to show that classical life presented many phases common to our own, and thus he brings the days of Cæsar close to modern feeling, while he never loses sight of historic truth and the vraisemblance which is the prime necessity of good fiction. In the love story of Drusus, the valiant young Roman soldier, and of Cornelia, the sweet-minded and lovely Roman girl, there are life and feeling of a thoroughly genuine kind. In fact, the minor characters (speaking historically and not fictionally) appeal to the reader far more strongly than "great Cæsar" and his famous contemporaries. In short, the novel may be read with absorbing interest even by those who care nothing for its value as a picture of Roman life at the beginning of our era. It should be added, however, that the author's knowledge of the period is evidently extensive, and he succeeds admirably in introducing his reader into the daily life of Rome in Cæsar's time, political, social, military, and domestic. The method employed is broad, the movement is constant and steady, the plot and construction admirable. There is no real ground of comparison between "A Friend of Cæsar" and "Quo Vadis" (although the reviewers seem generally to regard such a comparison as inevitable) except in way of contrast, the former being based distinctively on the ante-Christian days of Rome, the latter on the dawn of Christianity. In a sense, however, for this very reason the one book complements the other, and the two certainly possess in common the quality of pictorial brilliancy and warmth of coloring. Readers of "A Friend of Cæsar" will be interested in knowing that the author is a Harvard undergraduate who has just won the Thayer Scholarship, given for brilliant work in classical archæology. The publishers state that the novel was read and approved as to accuracy by a distinguished professor of archæology.

History of the Christian Church. By John Fletcher Hurst. Vol. II., being Vol. VIII. in Library of Biblical and Theological Literature. Edited by George R. Crooks, D.D., and John F. Hurst, D.D. Eaton & Mains, New York. 5½×9 in. 957 pages. $5.

In his first volume, issued three years ago, Bishop Hurst brought Christian history down to the times of Wyclif; in this he brings it to our own. Dr. Hurst's eminence as a teacher in this branch of study is also eminent fitness to undertake this segment of the circle of theological learning now being drawn under Methodist auspices, while aiming at acceptableness to all evangelicals. In bringing so vast and varied a field as the past six centuries within a single volume the hand of a master is evident in a due proportioning of things—yet not without exceptions. The ultra-orthodoxy of Luther's successors required some brief notice, at least, of its antagonist in the liberal orthodoxy of the celebrated French school at Saumur, which started germs that, as Dr. Schaff says, "revived in more recent times." (See "Creeds of Christendom," i., 479–485.) In point of accuracy some slips are inevitable among myriads of details. In a work that notices Professor McGiffert's withdrawal from

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Presbyterian fellowship in 1900 it is a slip to quote as the "official" creed of the Universalists a formulary that was revised in 1899. Dr. Hurst gives warning against "the inroads of Universalism," and finds Congregationalists under "a tendency to Unitarianism." This last has been heard since the time when the late Professor Park was pronounced infected with it. It is hardly confirmed by the statistics of transmigration from various folds, even the Methodist, but it will pass with the young theologues who read it as a salutary caution. We notice that Dr. Hurst stands by Dr. Whitsitt, who last year lost his place in the Louisville Seminary for affirming, as a matter of history, that English Baptists did not practice immersion before 1641. This solitary instance sets us to questioning whether any work on Church history can be deemed adequate that takes no note of the many much more important modifications of theological beliefs which modern scientific studies have compelled. There is still room for a Church history that will take account of the vast widening which the last half-century has given to the horizon of Christian thought.

Le Verre D'Eau. By Eugène Scribe. Edited by Charles A. Eggert, Ph.D. D. C. Heath & Co., Boston. 4¼×6½ in. 138 pages. 30c.

Lynchburg and Its People. By W. Asbury Christian. Illustrated. J. P. Bell Co., Lynchburg, Va. 5×7½ in. 463 pages. $1.50.

This is the second instance within our knowledge during a twelvemonth of a Methodist pastor devoting himself to the history of the town in which he resides. These are good examples to follow. Lynchburg is a thriving city, and this handsome volume printed there worthily represents it. It was Charles Lynch, emigrating from Ireland about 1720, who gave his name to the place, and a descendant of his was the Judge Lynch whose summary proceedings during the Revolutionary War originated the word of terrible import at the present time. The story of Lynchburg during the Civil War is a particularly touching chapter of the book in its picture of struggle and suffering.

North America. (Second Book.) By Ralph S. Tarr, B.S., F.G.S.A., and Frank M. McMurry, Ph.D. Illustrated. (Tarr and McMurry Geographies.) The Macmillan Co., New York 5×7¼ in. 469 pages. 75c.

Optimist and Other Verses, The. By Hilda Johnson Wise. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 4½×6 in. 72 pages. $1.

A little memorial volume, tastefully printed, which will be welcomed by the friends of the gracious, gifted, and devoted woman whose early death was the extinguishment of much promise and of many hopes. Many of the verses which appear in this volume first saw the light in "Pall Mall Magazine," in "Life," "Vogue," the Boston "Transcript" and other well-known newspapers and periodicals. They are mostly in a light vein, and are expressive of the author's vivacious intelligence, her delightful sense of humor, and her winning personality. They show great quickness of mind, skill in turning a verse, natural instinct for a humorous situation, with hints of more serious and vital qualities.

Outline History of English and American Literature. By Charles F. Johnson, Litt. Doc. American Book Company, New York. 5×7¼ in. 552 pages. $1.25.

Professor Johnson, who fills the Chair of English Literature at Trinity College, has compressed into a book of about five hundred and fifty pages the story of English and American literature, with the intention of preparing a text-book which can be mastered in three hours' study a week in a school year of thirty-three weeks. So far as possible, without interfering with the narrative interest, he has kept the biographical and critical matter in separate paragraphs, has confined himself to the main current of literary development, and has treated American literature on a larger scale than English literature. The book is elementary in its character, but is the work of a man who thoroughly understands his subject, and who has sufficient breadth of view to give due weight to writers as far apart as Emerson and Whitman. His treatment of Poe is not quite adequate, but in this defect he is at one with the great majority of writers on American literature.

Quaint Nuggets: Selections from Fuller, Hall, Selden, Herbert, and Walton. Compiled by Eveline Warner Brainerd. Fords, Howard & Hulbert, New York. 3¼×5¼ in. 136 pages. 45c.

Recollections of a Lifetime. By General Roeliff Brinkerhoff. Illustrated. The Robert Clarke Co., Cincinnati. 5½×8½ in. 448 pages. $2.

The autobiography of a man of parts and power is always worth reading, especially so when he has lived through eventful periods and has been closely connected with men of large influence on the course of events. Such a man is General Brinkerhoff, in early life a tutor at General Jackson's family residence in Tennessee, a leading organizer of the Republican party in 1856 and of the Liberal Republican movement in 1872, an officer in the Civil War, and since 1878 a leader in the department of philanthropy which is concerned with charitable and correctional institutions. Among his personal experiences one therefore finds many historical incidents before unpublished, and personal notices of men whose place and fame confer interest on all matters of record concerning them. Among these such men as Hayes and Garfield, Chase and Blaine, close friends of General Brinkerhoff, have a prominent place in his memoranda. Of more importance is the record of general progress in dealing with the dependent, defective, and criminal classes, which appears in his notes of travel in that interest through many countries. A deeply religious spirit, both broad and earnest, characterizes the writer, and has left its impress on the book.

Reign of Law, The. By James Lane Allen. Illustrated. The Macmillan Co., New York. 3×7½ in. 385 pages. $1.50.

A review of Mr. Allen's new novel will be found in The Outlook for June 23.

Side Lights on American History. By Henry W. Elson, A.M. Series II. The Macmillan Co., New York. 4½×7 in. 410 pages. 75c.

This is a well-planned, attractively written contribution to an intelligent conception of

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American history since 1860. It deals with the turning points rather than the details of the history, yet with sufficient detail for distinctness of impression. It is not all "side lights;" it treats of epochal years and movements, and some side lights are thrown on them in the narration, *e.g.*, as in showing how influential on National events some feuds of National leaders have been—Blaine and Conkling, for instance. A large measure of personal interest is infused into the history by sketches of many men who were influential in making it. There is also a due proportion of historical criticism of the theories held and courses taken at eventful stages of affairs. Mr. Elson has thus made a book of great interest to those who have lived through the period dealt with. It deserves special commendation to younger people who would clearly understand how our National conditions have come to be what they are. The present volume merits all the favor accorded to its predecessor.

Some Ideals in the Education of Women. By Caroline Hazard. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., New York. 4¾×7 in.

Studies in Poetry: Critical, Analytical, Interpretative. By Thomas O'Hagan, M.A., Ph.D. Marlier, Callanan & Co., Boston. 5×7 in. 114 pages. 50c.

Uncle Sam Abroad. By J. E. Conner. Illustrated. Rand, McNally & Co., New York. 5×7¼ in. 238 pages.

One might suppose from the cover, design, and illustrations of this book that it was a piece of comic literature. It is really a series of chapters on our foreign service, diplomatic and consular, comprising much valuable information and some sensible remarks upon the desirability of improvements therein, together with the author's views on the subject of National expansion, which he earnestly favors. The book is a useful compendium and is only slightly injured by the attempt to introduce what may be called the "Coin Harvey" methods of attracting attention.

Notes and Queries

It is seldom possible to answer any inquiry in the next issue after its receipt. Those who find expected answers late in coming will, we hope, bear in mind the impediments arising from the constant pressure of many subjects upon our limited space. Communications should always bear the writer's name and address.

When and where did the Congregational Church get the name by which it is known in the United States (Congregational)? Why it is so called is evident, but not when and where it became so distinguished. R. H. S.

There is no general body which calls itself the "Congregational Church." The proper appellation of the body which is often popularly but incorrectly so designated is "The Congregational Churches." Decentralization and local independency are the characteristics which distinguish it from the centralized denominations, such as the Episcopal Church, the Methodist, the Presbyterian. The name "Congregational" was current among the New Englanders of the first generation. John Cotton, minister, of Boston, wrote to England: "To distinguish our way from a national Church way, I know none fitter than to denominate theirs classical and ours Congregational."

In the issue of June 2, in the article, "The Silence of God," I find this sentence: "Maeterlinck, in an essay full of insight, has made the significance of silence clear to all those who have spiritual perception." Where can I secure this essay? T. C. S.

The essay will be found in a volume entitled "The Treasure of the Humble," published by Messrs. Dodd, Mead & Co., Fifth Avenue and 37th Street, New York City.

Is "W." (June 9) quite sure about his cloudland picture? Is it not the Madonna of the Louvre—painted by Murillo—sometimes called the Virgin of the Crescent? Any good magnifying glass will show the surrounding clouds of a good photograph of that full of angels' heads and of little flying cherubim. It is sometimes called also the Immaculate Conception. I have a photograph of that, taken from the original painting, and there is literally no end to the faces in the clouds. I believe there is a similar effect in a Madonna hanging in a gallery in Dresden; but I am not sure what the Madonna is called. *

In reply to the query of "G. F. G.," of The Outlook, concerning the quotation from Huxley on logical and natural impossibilities, I would say that it occurs in an essay of Mr. Huxley's (1891) entitled, "Possibilities and Impossibilities." It appears upon page 197 of the volume of collected essays, "Science and Christian Tradition" (D. Appleton & Co., edition 1897). L. S. B.

In "G. K. A.'s" note about the quotation, "The son of parents pass'd into the skies," it was by a misprint attributed to "Cooper" instead of to Cowper. "A. L." writes us that in a complete and authorized edition of Cowper's works which he has, the poem is entitled, not "Address to my Mother's Picture," but "On Receipt of my Mother's Picture out of Norfolk;" that the address is not to the picture, but to the mother; that "And higher still" should read, "And higher far;" that there should be, not a comma, but a dash after the word "rise;" and that "passed" should be "pass'd."

"J. A. J." We are informed by different correspondents that your inquiry, June 16, for some book "giving the chief characteristics of each century since the Christian era," should be directed to the Rev. J. White's work, "The Eighteen Christian Centuries" (D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1860, $2).

"The Unknown Country." A recent inquirer for this book is informed that it is a volume of nearly a thousand pages, made up of a large number of contributed articles on the future life, and representing all varieties of belief. (*C. A. Nichols & Co., Springfield, Mass.*)

"Christus Consolator," Phillips Brooks's favorite poem, was written by Rossiter W. Raymond and published in the Boston "Journal." I can furnish a written copy if desired. Mrs. Esther M. Howell, 26 King Street, Worcester, Mass. G.

Is there a sermon by a distinguished American preacher in which he compares the Bible with Harvard University or with any university? If so, who is the preacher and on what occasion was the sermon in question delivered? J. A. M.

Will some one give the author and also the whole of the little poem of which the following lines are a part:

"I'm glad I learned to love the things
That fortune neither takes nor brings"?

P.

Can any of The Outlook readers tell where may be found the complete poem, sung at the funeral service of John Ruskin, beginning, "Comes at times a stillness as of even"? A. E. W.

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Correspondence

The Boers and the Churches

To the Editors of The Outlook:

As an answer to the re-collected arguments of Mr. Charles Phillips in justification of the war by the English Government against the two South African republics, I refer your readers to a pamphlet entitled "The Dutch Reformed Church and the Boers." It is signed by ten prominent clergymen representing the "Moderamen" (whatever that may mean) of the Church, its Foreign Mission Committee, and the Senior Congregation of Cape Town. One of these clergymen is the celebrated "A. Murray," well known in the United States.

This pamphlet is in almost every particular the very opposite to Mr. Phillips's article. It represents the Boers as kind to the natives, and the English as cruel. It says the Transvaal and Natal were ceded to the Boers by Dingaan, the Zulu chieftain, and the text of the cession is given. It presents the missions among the natives in a light which is not surpassed by Foreign Mission Boards of America or England in proportion to numbers. It declares that slavery is not tolerated in the Transvaal. It says it was the massing of troops on the borders of the republics that compelled the ultimatum. "Among the causes which led to the 'Great Trek' was the suppression of the Dutch language in the law courts," while the Dutch was the language of the people. "The proposals of the Bloemfontein Conference had been virtually accepted by the Transvaal." "Arbitration was constantly asked for by the Transvaal and always refused." "There was no conspiracy for an uprising of the Dutch in Cape Colony." "Enforced labor by the English in Rhodesia and in the mines was worse than any form of service exacted by the Boers." "The agents of the London Missionary Society use in their reports heartless and outrageous language against the Boers."

These are extracts from this little booklet, which should be read by every one before taking sides against those people who are making a death struggle to maintain, not only their independence, but their liberty and their homes.

Mr. Phillips writes for the English-speaking people of South Africa, but as the Dutch are largely in the majority it is well to hear what they have to say, hence I direct attention to this pamphlet, sold at 144 Fleet Street, London, E. C.

Surely these ten gentlemen are of more weight than the one who writes an apology for what the civilized world regards as the most uncalled-for war in modern times.

(Rev.) I. Howard Suydam.

Does England Subsidize Her Shipping?

To the Editors of The Outlook:

One of your readers has taken exception to my statement in The Outlook of May 12, that England subsidizes her shipping. If you will kindly allow me space in your columns I would like to explain.

The word "subsidy" is very generally used, without regard to Webster's definition of it, to signify any money paid a ship-owner by a government, whether it be for services rendered, as carrying the mails, or for holding vessels in reserve, as auxiliary cruisers, or simply to help a struggling steamship line.

A consultation of the Report of the Commissioner of Navigation shows that England subsidizes her shipping in each of the above ways. She paid last year £787,713 for the Foreign and Colonial Packet Service—largely, if not entirely, of course, to British ships. She also paid £65,000 among four of her large steamship companies for holding eleven steamers in readiness as auxiliary cruisers, and she has just signed a contract with the Jamaica Fruit and Produce Association for a fortnightly service between Jamaica and Great Britain. "The subsidy payable is £10,000 per annum." This last subsidy seems to be for protection only, or for promoting trade between England and Jamaica, nothing being said in the Commissioner's report about carrying the mails. However, when subsidies are given the mails are usually carried free, as is proposed in the American bill.

In the light of the above facts, it seems hardly "misleading, to say the least," to say that England subsidizes her shipping.

The amount paid by England to her ship-owners appears to be about $4,000,000. This is, of course, to quite an extent for services rendered, and is less

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than one-half the limit of $9,000,000 set by the American bill, but, of course, England, with her well-established fleet and low wages, would not need to subsidize her ships as heavily as we, who have so few ships in the foreign trade.

That the Hamburg-American Line has been built up entirely without Government aid, as your reader says, is no criterion for this country, because the wages paid on German ships are about half those paid on American ships, and are less even than the wages of seamen under the English flag. This unprotected state of things will no longer exist in Germany, for very recently they have established a subsidizing policy very similar to that proposed for this country.

It seems to me that ship subsidizing is no more "class legislation" than the tariff on pig iron. They are both forms of protection, each best adapted to serve its purpose, and the old and time-worn arguments for or against one will apply to the other.

I think every one except the most fanatical Protectionists will acknowledge that the principle of Protection is, in theory, wrong; but I also think that every one except Economists and the hard-shelled Free Traders will admit that at times protection is not only helpful but necessary to the development of the industries of a country.

I must beg the pardon of The Outlook and its readers for appearing to write a campaign article in its columns, but I wish to make one more statement.

The events of the past few years seem to have given the lie to the statements of Free Traders of several years ago, who said that under protection we would never be able to compete with England in the trade of the world. The last few years have seen us make great inroads into her export trade, and we are now shipping many things even to England herself.

It will be the same with the ship building and owning industries as it has with others that have been protected. Only give us equality in conditions with other countries, and Yankee ingenuity and energy can be trusted to develop American shipping as successfully as it has other industries.

H. A. Swanton.

Wilmington, Del.

A Canteen

To the Editors of The Outlook:

The Outlook of May 26 discussed "The Canteen Question," asking three questions, the first and simplest of which was, "Is the canteen advantageous or disadvantageous?" The writer does not presume to answer the question, only to state a few facts, always rare, and leave any one at liberty to twist them into opinions, always plentiful.

For many years a canteen has been operated at the National Soldiers' Home near Hampton, Virginia. Beer and light wines are sold over its bar for cash to inmates of the Home. The barkeepers are forbidden by the governor of the Home to sell to any man evidently in the least intoxicated. The Home is under military rules and the barkeeper who violates regulations is not winked at by a municipal ring which wants his influence, but vigorously disciplined by the officer in charge. This canteen is not a place in which a man is allowed either to loaf or get drunk.

Outside one gate to the Home reservation is the little town of Phœbus with more than sixty saloons. A near-sighted investigator stood still at a corner and counted nineteen saloons so near that their signs were easily read. The porches and sidewalks in front of the saloons are occupied by pensioners in blue, sitting upon chairs furnished by the management. The passer-by can easily hear the ribald song within, the patter of dancing feet, the loud laughter in which the voices of women blend. The dives of Phœbus are appalling. Outside the other gate to the Home is Hampton with fifty flourishing saloons, all well patronized by the pensioners. A well-known saloon-keeper of that town estimates the value of the patronage of the pensioners to its liquor dealers at fifty thousand dollars per year.

A watchman is kept at each gate of the Home. It is his duty to inspect every pensioner as he returns from town; if the search discovers any sort of intoxicating drink the bottle is confiscated and its owner marched off to the guard-house. When the laundry of the inmates is returned the laundress is stopped at the gate and her package of clean garments carefully examined for smuggled whiskey. Only once has the Home been freed from

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the evil contact with the saloons outside of it. In August-September, 1899, a rigid quarantine of the grounds was observed for six weeks with this result:

During the time but two men were arrested, one of whom was insane. In the first eight days following the raising of the quarantine, allowing the men access to the outside saloons, one hundred and eighty arrests were made. Of the quarantine season an officer's wife writes: "The men were never healthier, happier, or jollier. It would do your soul good to see the bright, clean faces and clear eyes. For the first time we have a sober camp—no quarreling, no fighting, no arrests."

An inmate of four years writes: "The camp has never been so quiet within our knowledge. The captains have never had so little trouble to keep the men quiet." During the weeks of the quarantine the canteen was open, and all the men at liberty to drink there.

This case does not indicate that the saloon is good, only that the lawless saloon is worse than the one which is controlled. Every military camp has about it a fringe of infamous dives. The canteen need not be such. Vile whiskey and viler women are ruled out of it. If the canteen, which is under the law, is abolished, and the infamous dives are left, the last estate of the soldier of any age will be worse than the present. Any State may prohibit the sale of strong liquor within two, three, or five miles of a military camp within its borders. The camp with the canteen under the law and the lawless dives two miles from its bounds would be better off than the camp without the canteen and with the lawless places on its boundaries. It will be easier to get rid of the lawless, camp-following saloons while the canteen exists in the camp than after it is abolished. The very poor argument that a man must have his drink would have no weight if he could get the drink at a convenient, law-abiding place.

To choose between the canteen and the camp-following saloon is only to make the awful choice of the lesser evil, for the fact remains that any saloon in any place is a gaping mouth of hell. Development takes the next step in order instead of trying to leap over half a dozen. The next step is to rid military camps of the infamous dives which hang about them. It is a step into the black filth of county and State politics rather than a succession of bounds up the marble steps of the Capitol at Washington; it means inglorious hard work instead of showy resolutions in criticism of high officials, but it is the next step and it must be taken in order.

M. C. FAVILLE.

What Is the Best Environment for a Theological Seminary?

To the Editors of The Outlook:

Vitally connected with the reconstruction of theological education is the question as to the best environment for training men for the ministry. Shall the divinity school be a department of a great university or an institution by itself?

Much is to be said in favor of associating the theological school with the university. It affords opportunity for a wider and more varied elective work. It keeps the theological student in touch with the life and scholarship of a great body of students and teachers. It furnishes intimate contact with the movements of the time—intellectual, moral, social. The atmosphere is stimulating, exhilarating—and *distracting*. That is the fatal objection.

We are now pretty thoroughly imbued with the truth—and it is a most essential and liberating truth—that religion has to do with life in all its relations; that it is not a cult so much as a motive; that the religious man is not the man who separates himself from the world, but the man who hallows the world. We are not likely to forget this great truth which has come to us in these latter days. But we *are* in danger of forgetting that the only way to develop the spiritual life and to sustain the religious motive is by communion with God—sufficient withdrawal from the world to overcome the world. We need a new quietism. Service becomes barren without fresh and strong ideals. The flame languishes without oil.

Unless this fundamental fact of religious life is recognized in theological training the ministry will lack its chiefest requisite—motive power. That which the Christian ministry needs above everything else is a high and holy ideal. Equipment without this is apparatus without agency. This ideal of service must be intelligent

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and persistent, formed thoughtfully and without haste, so that it may have sufficient carrying power to withstand corruption and opposition and survive the burden and heat of the day in the field of service.

Where can such an ideal best be formed? In what environment will it take root and establish itself in unfading freshness and strength? An answer may be found in the instinct for seclusion and quiet which comes upon the soul that is preparing for some great and consecrated service. One who is fitting for the ministry should place himself where God can command freest access to every avenue of his being. His thoughts are to be "long, long thoughts." His spiritual respiration is to be deep and full. Let him be where the atmosphere is clearest, freest, most uplifting, where the perspective is truest, where past and present, thought and life, God and man come into closest and most vital relationship.

Where is this place? Certainly it is not in the university, with its multitudinous interests and its self-absorption; where the theologue is thrust into the outer darkness of a professional school attached to a great whole, rather than crowning it; where he is distracted by the number of optional courses open to him, and finds himself in pursuit of an equipment rather than an education. Rather is the ideal environment for preparation for the ministry the environment where the student wins an ideal; where he is brought into intimate fellowship with a body of teachers and students, all of whom share his own pursuits and purposes; where theology is the head and not the tail; where he has an open heaven under which to wrestle with his doubts as well as to dream his dreams and see his visions. He is there, to be sure, to study, but to study in a more mature, thoughtful and assimilative manner than that which characterizes college work. He needs time to read much, and to think more.

Nature, too, should not be left out of account in considering the best environment for a theological seminary. Some minds are more sensitive than others to the influence of nature as a calming and uplifting power, but among the graduates of one of our oldest seminaries that has sent out a body of alumni conspicuous for intellectual and spiritual strength, there is an almost universal affectionate association of the beautiful natural environment of the seminary with the deepest and holiest ideals which came to them during their seminary life.

ALUMNUS.

A Minnesota Plan

To the Editors of The Outlook:

When I read Mr. Hartt's article on "The Regeneration of Rural New England," I felt impelled to tell The Outlook what Minnesota is doing to help her farmers. It is, I am told, something quite unique among the States. We have, in connection with our State University, one of the largest in the country, an Agricultural High School to educate the sons and daughters of Minnesota farmers for farm life. As you can readily see, this is a plan better adapted to the needs of the farming population than lectures and instruction in the State University, as few of the country boys and girls get beyond the sixth or eighth grade, and consequently cannot enter college. This High School gives a three years' winter course, beginning in October and ending very soon, thus taking their pupils when they are least needed at home. The course for the boys, besides regular high-school lessons, includes horticulture, forestry, fruit-growing, stock-raising, enough blacksmithing, carpentry, and drawing to enable them to build what they will need, some chemistry, especially with reference to pure foods, cheese and butter-making, etc.; and for the girls, sewing, dressmaking, cooking, some of the boys' work, chemistry, laundry-work, housekeeping, etc., etc. A most delightful woman is at the head of the girls' department, and she is making their development a study, socially, morally, artistically, as well as mentally. The school is run on Mr. Squeers's principle: "W-i-n-d-e-r, winder —now go and wash it." One of the instructors told my husband that it was delightful to see the young people when at last the idea came to them of what a farmer's life might be. This is the twelfth year, I think, and there are five hundred pupils, with seven or eight well-adapted buildings placed on a fine campus. In connection with the school there are three or four experimental farms in different parts of Minnesota.

St. Paul, Minn. E. H. N.

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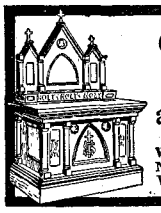

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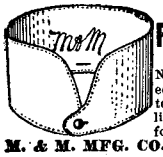

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